THE <u>TREASURE STORE TREATISE</u> (<u>PAO-TSANG LUN</u>) AND THE SINIFICATION OF BUDDHISM IN EIGHTH-CENTURY CHINA

by

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Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated -- overpopulated -- with the intentions of others.

Bakhtin

What is incomprehensible is that <u>nothing</u>, and yet <u>everything</u>, has changed.

Wittgenstein

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To my parents

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ABBREVIATIONS

EB	Eastern Buddhist.
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
HR	History of Religions.
HY.	Tao-tsang tzu-mu yin-te 道藏子目引得 (Harvard Yenching Index to the Taoist Canon).
IBK	Indogaku bukkyôgaku kenkyû 印度學佛教學研究.
JCP	Journal of Chinese Philosophy.
JIABS	Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies.
MH	Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, Dai kanwa jiten 大漢和辭典.
MZ	Mochizuki Shinkô 望月信亨, Bukkyô dai jiten 佛教大辭典.
P.	Fonds manuscrit de Tun-huang Pelliot.
PTL	Pao-tsang lun 寶藏論 (T.1857).
PTS	Pâli Text Society.
PWYF	P'ei-wen yün-fu 佩文韻府.
S.	The Stein Collection of Tun-huang manuscripts.
T.	Taisho daizôkyô 大正大藏經.
TP	T'oung Pao.
WH	Wogihara Unrai 荻原雲來 ed., Bonwa daijiten 梵和大辭典.
ZZ.	Dai nihon zokuzôkyô 大日本續藏經.

CONVENTIONS OF USAGE

1. Texts in the Taoist Canon are referred to by their Harvard Yenching Index number ("HY."). This is followed by the fascicle number(s) ("f.") of the 1925 Shanghai reprint of the original canon of 1445.

2. References to texts in the Taishô edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon are indicated by the text number ("T.") followed by the volume, page, register (a, b, or c), and, when appropriate, the line number(s).

3. References to texts found in the _Zokuzôkyô_ ("ZZ.") are indicated by the volume number in the 1968 Taipei reprint edition in 150 volumes (published by _Chung-kuo fo-chiao hui_ 中國佛教會), followed by the page, register (a, b, c, or d), and, when appropriate, the line number(s).

4. References to the _Chuang-tzu_ 莊子 and _Hsün-tzu_ 荀子 are to the editions in the Harvard Yenching Concordance Series, and are cited using the concordance format (page/chapter/line).

5. References to the _Huang-t'ing ching_ 黃庭經 are to the edition found in Schipper ed. 1975, and are cited using the concordance format (内 for the "Inner Text," 外 for the "Outer Text," followed by section:line).

6. References to the _Tsu-t'ang chi_ 祖堂集 are to the Korean edition found in Yanagida ed. 1984, and are cited using the concordance format (section.folio.line).

7. _Hôbôgirin_ refers to the _Hôbôgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources Chinoises et Japonaises_, edited by Paul Demiéville, and Jacques May (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1929-).

INTRODUCTION

Prolegomenon to the Study of Medieval Chinese Buddhist Literature

This dissertation grew out of an attempt to understand a single medieval Chinese Buddhist treatise of uncertain origin. I came upon the text quite by accident, while glancing through volume 45 of the Taishô edition of the Buddhist canon. Tucked away in that volume is a little-known work entitled the Pao-tsang lun 寶藏論 ("Treasure Store Treatise," hereafter PTL), attributed to the fifth-century San-lun 三論 exegete Seng-chao 僧肇 (374-414). I would, no doubt, have quickly passed the text by, were it not for the opening lines: "Emptiness that can be deemed empty -- it is not true emptiness. Form that can be deemed form -- it is not true form." These lines were immediately recognizable as a Buddhist pastiche of the opening passage of the Tao-te ching: "The Way that can be talked about -- it is not the eternal Way. The Name that can be named -- it is not the eternal Name." My first reaction was to consider the PTL passage a rather tawdry literary gambit. As I continued reading, this initial and somewhat hasty judgment seemed on target; the text appeared to be little more than a confused muddle of Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist ideas, expressed in an unnecessarily turgid prose, with little obvious literary structure or philosophical subtlety. When I learned that modern scholars consider the attribution to Seng-chao apocryphal, I felt my intuition confirmed. Surely the attribution to the great exegete and disciple of Kumârajîva alone, and not intrinsic literary merit, led to the preservation of the PTL and its inclusion in the canon.

As it turned out, my original estimation of the text was not shared by the Chinese Buddhist exegetical tradition. A little research soon revealed that the PTL was in fact held in considerable esteem by

T'ang and Sung Buddhist masters. The prodigious scholiast Tsung-mi 宗密 (780-841) was familiar with, and apparently fond of, the PTL, as were Yün-men 雲門 (864-949), Yen-shou 延壽 (904-975), and many others associated with Ch'an lineages. Two "cases" (tse 則) in the Pi-yen lu 碧巖錄 were derived from the PTL, one of which became particularly popular in later kung-an 公案 collections: "Within heaven and earth, inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain." Moreover, the PTL is considered the locus classicus for the dialectical opposition of the terms li 理 and wei 微 ("transcendence" and "subtlety") -- a distinction which is featured in a variety of later Ch'an materials. There was little doubt that Chinese Buddhist exegetes with considerably more literary perspicuity than myself found the text enlightening. Perhaps the deficiency I initially perceived in the treatise lay not in the literary or philosophical refinement of the text itself, but in an inadequate strategy for decoding it.

I returned to the PTL with a set of questions which I felt appropriate to this "syncretic" T'ang treatise: What is the polemic context of the work? Does the amalgam of Confucian, Taoist and Mâdhyamika concepts belie a superficial understanding of these traditions? What is the source of the conspicuous Taoist terminology found throughout the text? Why was the text adopted by scholiasts associated with early Ch'an in particular? Is the text in some sense representative of a stage in the early development of Ch'an thought? Who exactly is the object of the sustained polemic attack on nien-fo practice found in chapter 3? I had been interested in the ideological roots of Ch'an in the T'ang, and the PTL seemed well situated to serve as the focus for an extended study.

In time I came to realize that my initial deprecation of the PTL, and the questions with which I originally framed my inquiry, emerged in large part from a set of widely held but nonetheless dubious assumptions concerning the character of Chinese Buddhism. Following the lead of contemporary scholarship I had unwittingly come to conceive of Chinese

religion in general, and Buddhism in particular, in terms of a clearly delimited set of normative teachings -- "Confucianism," "Taoism," and "Buddhism," each subdivided into various "schools," "sects," and "lineages." The normative traditions are understood as definitive of "high" religion, as opposed to the "low" traditions which are largely ignored by both Sinologists and Buddhologists. While the high traditions, according to prevailing scholarly treatments, are comprised of clearly articulated and internally consistent doctrinal and ritual systems, the low traditions are viewed as diluted, syncretic, diffuse, corrupt, or even degenerate transmutations of the various normative prototypes or ideal forms.

For the scholar of Chinese Buddhism, first and foremost among the normative traditions is "Indian Buddhism," conceived of as a sophisticated system of doctrine and practice preserved by the monastic and priestly elite. The Indian Buddhist tradition was not, of course, univocal -- it sanctioned a variety of competing but related philosophical positions, which took the form of discrete "schools" (sarvâstivâda, mâdhyamika, yogâcâra, etc.). All such schools are deemed more or less "orthodox" or "legitimate" by virtue of canonical sanction and the prestige of their Indian ancestry. The history of Chinese Buddhism is then the history of Indian Buddhist schools moving east, gradually infiltrating both the populous at large and the ranks of the cultural elite. According to the textbook accounts, the Chinese were initially attracted to Buddhism by its compelling but ultimately superficial and misleading similarities with Taoism. In time, as the Chinese came to better understand Indian Buddhist doctrine, they gained confidence in their own exegetical innovations. They were thus able to dress Buddhist doctrine in a more familiar and appealing Chinese garb, and this gave rise to Chinese Buddhist traditions which were functionally "normative" in their own right. These traditions include the compendious T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen scholastic systems of the Sui and T'ang, and the full-fledged Ch'an monastic culture of the Sung.

The spread of Buddhism to China is thus depicted as a sort of unwieldy beast lumbering across the Central Asian steppes, slowly but surely adapting to Chinese tastes and sensibilities ("When in Rome . . . . "). But, as we look closer, the beast begins to resemble a yeti -- never confronted face-to-face, rarely, if ever, even glimpsed. Reports of sightings are invariably vague and inconsistent, raising more questions than they answer. In the end the power of the beast lies in its hold upon the imagination of those who believe in it.

Our belief in the existence of the beast arises from a confusion of polemic ideology with social history. The normative traditions all too often turn out to be little more than analytic abstractions in the minds of sectarian apologists and contemporary scholars. As foreign students of Chinese Buddhism, we find ourselves peering at Chinese religion through the lens of centuries of Japanese scholarship, a scholarship which itself developed out of Japanese sectarian and ideological concerns. Although we have become increasingly critical of sectarian bias, Japanese concerns continue to set the agenda. We continue, for example, to organize our data under the rubric of particular schools -- Confucianism versus Buddhism, T'ien-t'ai versus Pure Land, Exoteric versus Esoteric, and so on. Despite the increasing awareness that the lines separating San-lun from T'ien-t'ai, T'ien-t'ai from Ch'an, and Ch'an from Neo-Confucianism, are not as clear as once thought, and despite the repeated failures to even locate a Pure Land or Esoteric "school" in China, scholars persist in presenting this increasingly messy state of affairs in terms of the interrelationships between discrete entities. I would suggest that the rhetoric of "schools" and "sects" in China is more often than not tied to particular polemic and ideological agendas. As such, the rhetoric must be used with caution in what purport to be historiographically critical accounts of the evolution of Chinese Buddhism.

My attempt to decode the <u>PTL</u> raised anew the whole issue of how to conceptualize the process of "sinification." To put the question rather

crudely: when Buddhism moves from one culture to another -- from India to China -- what exactly moves? The question is not unrelated to the quandary explored in the Gatâgata-parîkṣâ, the second chapter of the Mûla-madhyamaka-kârikâ, which systematically deconstructs the notion of a "mover in motion." Indeed, Nâgârjuna can assist us in clarifying the issue, by rooting out the notion of a reified and culturally disembodied Buddhism which crosses national boundaries. Nevertheless, there is no denying saṃvṛti-satya: Buddhist ideas, texts, practices, and institutions were in fact brought to China, where they made a sizable impact on virtually every strata of society.

The process of adoption and assimilation may be modeled in different ways, depending upon whether one is predisposed to highlight fidelity to the Indian tradition ("The Buddhist Conquest of China") or the overpowering force of Sinitic culture ("The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism"). The former may be understood along the lines of Gadamer's "fusion of horizons." According to this model, the continuing dialogue between the Buddhist and native Chinese traditions over many centuries overcame imposing linguistic and cultural barriers, and gave rise to a hermeneutic sophistication which allowed the Chinese to appreciate Indian Buddhism for what it was, even while dressing it in new clothes. The latter case -- the "transformation" model in its most radical sense -- might be likened to the grain of sand which, irritating the oyster, gives rise to a fine pearl. The birth of the pearl is undeniably due to the stimulus of the sand, yet the original grain of sand is unrecognizable in the finished product.

Like many scholars who foolishly venture into this area, I attempt to steer a middle-course between the two extremes. While the influence of Buddhism on Chinese culture is profound, Buddhism is itself irrevocably altered as it is translated into a Chinese idiom. But I would argue that the current models used to conceptualize the Chinese appropriation and adaptation of Buddhism tend to be hermeneutically naive. Scholars typically cite the early use of "matching concepts" (ko-i 格義)

or the use of the Tao-te ching and the Chuang-tzu in early Buddhist exegesis as paradigmatic of the process of "sinification." But entailed in such a model is the notion that once ko-i and the undisciplined use of Taoist terminology were abandoned, there were no longer any major barriers to the smooth transmission and translation of Buddhist ideas into Chinese. And this indeed is the attitude of many scholars who are only too quick to gloss a Chinese Buddhist technical term with its Sanskrit equivalent. Ironically, this practice is symptomatic of an approach which treats Chinese Buddhist material as a mere gloss on the Indian Buddhist tradition. This approach arises from, and further contributes to, the general failure to appreciate the pervasive influence of traditional Chinese cosmological and metaphysical notions in the development of Chinese Buddhism.

Once the cosmological background of Chinese Buddhism is better appreciated, it is no longer necessary to see the dense and complex overlay of "Buddhist," "Taoist," and "Confucian" themes in the PTL as an undisciplined and philosophically muddled concoction. On the contrary, the PTL proves to be conceptually coherent and, in many respects, elegantly crafted. It is also, as we shall see, representative of certain trends in Chinese Buddhist thought which culminate in the full blown Ch'an literature of the following centuries. My approach is then to demonstrate the manner in which native Chinese conceptions -- the cosmological "world-view" and literary sensibilities of the cultured elite -- inform medieval Chinese Buddhism in general, and the PTL in particular.

* * *

The dissertation is divided into two parts. Part 1 deals with the historical and ideological background of the PTL, touching upon a number of broad methodological issues concerning the study of medieval Chinese Buddhism. Part 2 consists of a translation of the PTL with a running commentary.

The study begins with an introduction to the PTL, focusing on questions of date and authorship, as well as on its literary provenance. I review the philological investigations of various Japanese scholars, particularly the position advanced by Kamata Shigeo which places the composition of the text in the region of southeastern China in the latter part of the eighth century. The question of intellectual provenance turns out to be considerably more complex. The terminology and literary style of the PTL have much in common with texts associated with early Ch'an, particularly the Niu-t'ou 牛頭 or "Ox-head" tradition. The PTL also shares much in the way of vocabulary and rhetorical style with the Taoist exegetical tradition known as ch'ung-hsüan 重玄 or "twofold mystery." This little studied Taoist literary tradition has been represented in some modern Japanese and French accounts as a full fledged "sect" which flourished in the Sui and T'ang. The similarities between the PTL and ch'ung-hsüan necessitate a close examination of the actual historical status of the authors and texts associated with this purported Taoist school. I argue that the Japanese reconstruction of a ch'ung-hsüan "sect" or "lineage" is founded upon a misreading of the historical record, and is symptomatic of the tendency to interpret Chinese religious history in terms of discrete schools and sects.

The review of ch'ung-hsüan Taoism in chapter 1 touches upon the larger issue of the "sinification" of Buddhism and the supposed "syncretic tendencies" of the Chinese. Indeed, one of the most striking aspects of the PTL is precisely its thoroughgoing syncretism; although a nominally "Buddhist" text, it is suffused throughout with "Taoist" terminology and "Confucian" cosmology. Chapter 2 is accordingly devoted to an extended examination of issues central to the proper "framing" of the

PTL within the Chinese intellectual tradition. I question many of the underlying assumptions entailed in the rubric of "religious syncretism" as applied to China. Specifically, I look at the two paradigmatic examples of Chinese religious syncretism: the doctrine of "the unity of the three teachings," and "Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism." In the former case, I argue that the apparently ecumenical rhetoric of unity and accommodation frequently masks what are clearly polemic and sectarian interests. In the latter case, I show that the rhetoric of syncretism gives rise to a misleading picture of the historical status of both the Ch'an and Pure Land traditions in China.

Having raised doubts as to the usefulness of the notion of "syncretism" in understanding the rhetoric of texts such as the PTL, I proceed in chapter 3 to re-examine the process by which the Chinese naturalized Buddhism. I demonstrate the degree to which early Chinese cosmological or metaphysical conceptions shape the Chinese apprehension of Buddhist philosophy. Specifically, I focus on the Chinese notion of "sympathetic resonance" (kan-ying 感應), which profoundly influenced the Chinese understanding of the Indian Buddhist theories of causation, co-origination, and the multiple bodies of the Buddha.

Part 2 of the dissertation consists of an annotated translation of the three chapters of the PTL. The format is that favored by modern Japanese scholars of classical texts -- the translated text is broken into short sections followed by a detailed discussion of key terminology as well as issues of doctrine and style. The introduction to part 2 explains in detail the conventions followed in both the translation and the running commentary. The translation is followed by an appendix which gathers together the scriptural quotations found scattered throughout the PTL.

Finally, a word must be said concerning my intended audience. This was a particularly problematic issue in the writing of chapter 3, which required a general overview of early Han cosmology, as well as in

the commentary to the translation where the full elucidation of any one of dozens of technical terms found in the PTL could easily have turned into a short monograph. To what kind of audience, then, is this study directed?

The modern study of Chinese medieval religion is largely divided between two camps: the Sinologists and the Buddhologists. While the former studiously ignore Buddhism, the latter tend to ignore everything but. Such tendencies are not difficult to comprehend; the Sinologist, influenced in part by the traditional Confucian bias which views Buddhism as a morally corrupting foreign intrusion, is understandably hesitant to venture into the arcane labyrinth of Buddhist scholasticism. The Buddhologist, for his part, is often inordinately influenced by his own course of training in Buddhist languages and doctrinal history. The important exception to this division of labor is the school of French Sinology; figures such as Édouard Chavannes, Henri Maspero, Paul Pelliot, Rolf Stein, Paul Demiéville, and Jacques Gernet brought the breadth of their formidable Sinological talents to bear on their reading of Chinese Buddhist history and thought. But until recently, such an approach was a rarity in the rest of the Western world. The situation may, however, be changing -- two recent collections of papers explicitly attempt to redress this situation (Gregory ed. 1987, and Buswell ed. 1990).

This dissertation is, among other things, an argument for the need to study Chinese Buddhism as the product of Chinese culture. In other words, Buddhism is a product of Buddhists, and the Buddhists in our case are Chinese. There is little point in continuing to hold Chinese Buddhism up against the measure of the Indian tradition. Just as Christians have the right to make of Jesus what they will, despite his Jewish origins, the Chinese similarly have every right to make of Buddhism what they will.

As such, the polemic voice in this study is directed to the Buddhologically inclined. Accordingly, while I presuppose a familiarity with the Chinese Buddhist textual tradition, I assume less background in other areas of Chinese studies (a decision which in part reflects my own strengths and weaknesses). If Buddhologists show themselves willing to recognize the fact that Chinese Buddhism is as "legitimate" as the Indian Buddhist tradition, Sinologists might be willing to set aside the notion of Buddhism as a foreign incursion, and lend their own strengths to the study of Chinese Buddhism as a Chinese cultural artifact.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL AND COSMOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

THE DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE TREASURE STORE TREATISE

A. Introduction

The Pao-tsang lun 寶藏論, or "Treasure Store Treatise" (hereafter cited as PTL), is a short work, comprising a little less than seven pages in the Taishô edition of the Buddhist tripiṭaka.[1] The treatise is attributed to the early fifth-century Mâdhyamika exegete and disciple of Kumârajîva, Seng-chao 僧肇 (374-414), and the attribution appears to have gone unquestioned until the first half of this century.[2]

As there are a number of excellent studies of Seng-chao now available, a brief sketch of his life will suffice our purposes here.[3] According to the Kao-seng chuan 高僧傳, Seng-chao was born to a poor family in Ching-chao 京兆 (near Ch'ang-an) in 374, and learned the classics at an early age while working as a copyist.[4] At first he was drawn to the works of Chuang-tzu, Lao-tzu, and the study of the "mysterious and subtle 玄微," but upon reading the Chih Ch'ien 支謙 (fl. 250) translation of the Vimalakîrti-sûtra he turned his energies to Buddhism. According to his biographers, he soon mastered both the Hînayâna and Mahâyâna scriptural traditions.

Sometime after his conversion to Buddhism, Seng-chao traveled to Ku-tsang 姑藏 to study under the Kuchean Mâdhyamika scholar and translator Kumârajîva (350-c.409).[5] With the capture of Liang-chou by Yao Hsing 姚興 of the Later Ch'in in 401, Seng-chao accompanied his master back to Chang-an where he gained prominence as one of Kumârajîva's chief disciples. In addition to his work assisting Kumârajîva with his trans-

lations, Seng-chao began composing his own works on Buddhist philosophy which earned his master's lavish praise. Among Seng-chao's writings, his commentary to the Vimalakîrti-sûtra (Chu wei-mo-chieh ching 註維摩詰經, T.1775: 38) and the four treatises known collectively as the Chao-lun 肇論 (T.1858: 45) proved to be tremendously influential in the development of Chinese Buddhist thought. As for his death, the early biographies mention only that "in the tenth year of the i-hsi period (414) he died in Ch'ang-an at the age of thirty-one 晋義熙十年卒於長安春秋三十有一矣" (T.2059: 50.366a29).

Later Ch'an-related materials inform us that Seng-chao was sentenced to death by the King of Ch'in for some unspecified transgression. One of the earliest versions of this clearly apocryphal legend appears in the Sung compilation, the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄 of 1011:

> The Dharma-master Seng-chao ran into trouble with the King of Ch'in. When he was about to be executed he uttered the following verse:
>
> The four elements originally have no master,
> The five skandhas are fundamentally void.
> The naked blade passing through my neck,
> It's like cleaving through the spring breeze.
>
> 僧肇法師遭秦主難 臨就刑說偈曰 四大元無主 五陰本來空 將頭臨白刃 猶似斬春風. (T.2076: 51.435a29-b2)

A slightly later Ch'an kung-an 公案 collection, the Pi-yen lu 碧巖錄 (complied in 1128), makes an explicit connection between Seng-chao's execution and the composition of the PTL. The central kung-an of case 62 consists of a short passage from the PTL presented by the T'ang master Yün-men 雲門 (864-949) to his congregation. This is followed by the compiler's commentary to the case, which I have translated below:

> Yün-men said: "Within heaven and earth, inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain" [PTL 145b23-24]. Now tell me, is Yün-men's meaning in the tip of the fishing pole, or does the meaning lie on top of the lamp? These several lines are taken from the Treasure Store Treatise of Dharma-master [Seng]-chao. Yün-men cited them in order to instruct his community. Seng-chao lived during the Later

> Ch'in, and composed his treatise in the Garden of Ease and Freedom 逍遙園. In copying the *Vimalakîrti Sûtra* he came to understand that Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu had still not exhausted the sublime. Seng-chao then paid obeisance to Kumârajîva as his teacher. He also called on the bodhisattva Buddhabhadra at the Temple of the Tile Coffin 瓦棺寺, who had come from India to transmit the mind-seal of the twenty-seventh Patriarch. Seng-chao entered deeply into the inner sanctum. One day Seng-chao ran into trouble. When he was about to be executed, he begged for seven days' reprieve, during which time he composed the *Treasure Store Treatise*.
>
> So Yün-men cited those four lines from that treatise in order to instruct his community. The main idea is: "how can you take a priceless treasure and conceal it within the realm of the *skandhas*?" The words spoken in the treatise are all in accord with the talk of our school 論中語言皆與宗門說話相符合.[6]

This later legend greatly enhances the status of the *PTL*. Seng-chao, bravely facing his own imminent death, requests time to brush his final teachings. The *PTL* is thus rendered a sort of "death *gâthâ*" -- a concise statement manifesting one's enlightenment produced in the spiritually charged circumstances of impending death. Indeed, in the *Pi-yen lu* passage, the *PTL* actually replaces the more traditional four line death *gâthâ* recorded in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. And should there be any lingering doubts among Ch'an adepts as to Seng-chao's authority, the *Pi-yen lu* assures the reader that the *PTL*, regardless of its purported dating to the Later Ch'in, is fully in accord with Ch'an teachings.

B. The Date of the *Pao-tsang lun*

The *PTL* itself is not mentioned in any of the early biographies of Seng-chao, and we have no clues as to the origins of the tale linking its composition to Seng-chao's supposed execution. T'ang Yung-t'ung was the first modern scholar to cast doubt on the authorship of the *PTL*, and to suggest dating its composition to the T'ang (1955: 332-333). T'ang notes that the *PTL* does not appear in any of the early catalogues of Buddhist scriptures, and it is not until the Sung that the *PTL* is in-

cluded in a biographical section of a dynastic history.[7] Furthermore, T'ang notes that the vocabulary of the PTL includes items closely associated with T'ang Ch'an, and he reports seeing a Ming woodblock edition of the PTL dated 1504 which includes a preface by the T'ang Ch'an monk Huai-hui 懷暉 (754-815), a disciple of Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 (709-788) and resident of the Chang-ching ssu 章敬寺 in Ch'ang-an.[8]

T'ang's findings have since been supplemented by a number of Japanese scholars, including Tsukamoto Zenryû (1955: 149), Makita Tairyô (1955: 274), and Mizuno Kôgen (1961a: 22-24). They find the first catalogue listing of the PTL in the record of scriptures brought back to Japan by Enchin 圓珍 in 857. Enchin's catalogue does not include the names of authors except where such names have been incorporated into the title of the work. However, the fact that the PTL listing immediately follows that of the Chao-lun and the Chao-lun wen-chü 肇論文句 strongly suggests that the text had already come to be associated with Seng-chao.[9] The next catalogue in which our text appears is the Tôiki dentô mokuroku 東域傳燈目錄, a record of scriptures brought back to Japan in 1094 by Eichô 永超 (T.2183: 55.1163b21). One hand-copied manuscript edition of this catalogue contains a note attributing the PTL to Seng-chao.[10] But the first catalogue entry which unequivocably links Seng-chao to the PTL is the Korean catalogue compiled by I-t'ien (K: Ue c'on) 義天 published in 1101.[11]

But we need not rely on these catalogue references to establish a terminus a quo for the PTL. The text is quoted several times by Tsung-mi 宗密 (780-841) in works dating to the first half of the ninth century. In the Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü 禪源諸詮集都序 (hereafter the "Ch'an Preface"), which dates to shortly after 833, we read:

> The Treasure Store Treatise says: "To know being is to be ruined by being, and to know non-being is to be defeated by non-being." (These refer to the ability to know being and non-being.) "The knowing which is true knowing does not make any distinction between being and non-being." (Since they do not distinguish between being and non-being, this is in fact non-discriminative

knowledge of own-being.) 寶藏論亦云知有有壞知無無敗 (此智能知有無之智) 眞知之知有無不計 (既不計有無即自性無分別之知).[12]

Tsung-mi does not, in this text, explicitly mention Seng-chao in connection with the PTL, but in the Ta-fang-kuang yüan-chüeh hsiu-to-lo liao-i-ching lüeh-shu chu 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏註 we read: "Chou-kung [i.e., Seng-chao] said: 'The dharma-body remains concealed within the shell of form; true wisdom remains concealed within discursive deliberation.'"[13] This passage is found neither in the Chao-lun, nor in any other extant work by Seng-chao, but is rather an abbreviated quote from chapter 2 of the PTL (147b26-28). Moreover, the Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao 圓覺經大疏鈔 by Tsung-mi also cites a passage from the PTL, and, while no specific text is mentioned, this passage too is attributed to Seng-chao.[14] The PTL was evidently known to Tsung-mi as a text by Seng-chao by at least the 830s.

Further evidence for the late date of the PTL comes from an analysis of the citations and vocabulary found within the text itself. One confirmation that the text could not in fact have been composed by Seng-chao is a quote taken from the Fa-chü ching 法句經. This apocryphal scripture was recovered at Tun-huang, and can be dated to the mid-seventh century.[15] The PTL cites the Fa-chü ching in chapter 3 (148c1-2): "Therefore the scripture says: 'The dense phenomenal array and the myriad images are all the imprint of the single dharma' 故經云森羅及萬象一法之所印." This pericope is found in a variety of T'ang Ch'an related documents.[16] Its presence in the PTL establishes a preliminary terminus ad quem of mid-seventh century, roughly 250 years after the death of Seng-chao. Mizuno argues that the sûtras quoted in the PTL are all from translations which predate those of Hsüan-tsang, and concludes that the PTL must have been composed prior to the availability and general acceptance of Hsüan-tsang's translations, but after the composition of the apocryphal Fa-chü ching. This would place the composition of the PTL just about half way through the seventh century (Mizuno 1961a: 24).

Kamata Shigeo was drawn to the PTL in the course of his study of Hua-yen history and thought. The PTL was typical of the kind of synthesis of Mâdhyamika, Lao-Chuang 老莊 and Ch'an thought which characterized the intellectual milieu in which Tsung-mi lived. Kamata was curious about the fact that the PTL is never mentioned or quoted by Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (738-838), the prodigious Hua-yen exegete and teacher of Tsung-mi.[17] This is striking both because Ch'eng-kuan was clearly fond of Seng-chao (his works are filled with copious quotes from the Chao-lun), and because Tsung-mi, his close disciple, quotes from both the Chao-lun and the PTL. Given 815 as a terminus post quem based on T'ang Yung-t'ung's report of the Huai-hui preface, it would seem that the PTL could not have appeared much earlier than the late eighth century.

Kamata is able to substantiate this surmise through a careful examination of the scriptural sources for quotations found in the PTL. Kamata successfully identifies a number of the quotations, including seven from Kumârajîva's translation of the Vimalakîrti, one from his translation of the Vajracchedikâ, and one from his translation of the Lotus Sûtra. The key to Kamata's dating of the text, however, turns out to be a single character in a quote which can be traced to the Laṅkâvatâra. The passage in the PTL runs as follows:

> Therefore the scripture says: "The mind is like a dancer, and thought like a jester. The five consciousnesses, which are their companions, in their delusion discern a chorus." 故經云 心如工伎兒 意如和伎者 五識爲伴侶 妄想觀伎衆. (149b1-2)

The extant Sanskrit edition of the relevant passage from the Laṅkâvatâra reads: naṭavannṛtyate cittam mano vidûṣasâdṛśam, vijñânam pañcabhiḥ sârdhaṃ dṛśyaṃ kalpeti raṅgavat (Nanjio ed. 224.2-3), which has been translated by D. T. Suzuki as follows: "The Citta dances like a dancer; the Manas resembles a jester; the [Mano-] vijñâna together with the five [Vijñânas] creates an objective world which is like a stage" (Suzuki 1978: 193).

There are three extant translations of the Laṅkâvatâra-sûtra into Chinese, and an examination of the variant Chinese renderings of this passage is the key to Kamata's dating of the text. The three translations, followed by the passage in question, are:

1. The four chüan version translated by Guṇabhadra of the Former Sung (420-479) in 443. Cf. T.670: 16.510c19-20: 心爲工伎兒 意如和伎者 五識爲伴侶 妄想觀伎衆.

2. The ten chüan version translated by Bodhiruci 1 of the Northern Wei (386-534) in 513. Cf. T.671: 16.557a22-24: 心如巧伎兒 意如狡猾者 意識及五識 虛妄取境界 如伎兒和合 誑惑於凡夫.

3. The seven chüan version by Śikṣânanda of the T'ang translated between the years 700 and 704. Cf. T.672: 16.620a17-18: 心如工伎兒 意如和伎者 五識爲伴侶 妄想觀伎衆.

It is immediately evident that the wording of the PTL quotation matches precisely that of the Śikṣânanda text. Kamata is content to consider this conclusive evidence that the author of the PTL was familiar with a translation completed in 704, which would establish this date as a terminus ad quem. Although I agree that there is sufficient evidence overall to date the PTL to the eighth century, I would call attention to the fact that the difference between the Guṇabhadra version and that of Śikṣânanda is but a single Chinese character: the former reads wei 爲 where the latter has ju 如 -- a distinction with virtually no semantic impact.

But Kamata marshals even more evidence in support of his late eighth-century dating of the PTL. There is the fact that the PTL is not included in the K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu 開元釋教錄, which was completed 730, nor is it mentioned or quoted in the Chih-kuan fu-hsing-ch'uan hung-chüeh 止觀輔行傳弘決 (T.1912: 46.141a-446c) or other works by Chan-jan 湛然 (711-782), who otherwise quotes frequently from Seng-chao. And finally, as was noted above, there is no indication that Ch'eng-kuan was familiar with the PTL, which would be odd if the PTL were already in circulation. But Kamata's reasoning on this last point is valid only in

so far as the PTL was associated with the name of Seng-chao from the time of its composition.

Which brings us to the issue of the attribution itself: did the author affix Seng-chao's name to the PTL or was attribution made later on? One can do little more than speculate. As we have seen, PTL citations in the works of Tsung-mi — the earliest extant references to the PTL — strongly suggest that the text was associated with Seng-chao in the 830s. There is also some indication that the author of the PTL consciously avoided terminology characteristic of eighth-century Buddhism. Sûtra quotations in the PTL are drawn primarily from the translations of Kumârajîva, rather than from those of Hsüan-tsang, though this may be due to the fact that Kumârajîva's work continued to be popular even after the later and more technically accurate translations by Hsüan-tsang became available.[18] Furthermore, as mentioned above, the PTL shows no evidence of the technical terminology characteristic of post-Hsüan-tsang scholasticism, but again this may only indicate that the author of our text was not trained in scholastic Buddhism, or that Hsüan-tsang's influence was limited to the capital, and that our text originated in the provinces (which, as we will see below, is most likely). Finally, the content of the PTL is not unlike that which would be expected in a treatise by Seng-chao dating to the early fifth century. Indeed, it seems that the authenticity of the text was not called into question until the work of T'ang Yung-t'ung in this century. Intentional or not, the author styled the PTL such that it could have passed in its own time as a composition of the fifth century.

There is no doubt that the attribution to Seng-chao, however it came about, would have significantly contributed to the text's standing in the eighth and ninth centuries. Seng-chao's work had remained popular among Buddhist exegetes well into the Sui and T'ang. As one of the chief disciples of Kumârajîva, he was associated with the San-lun 三論 teachings which experienced a limited revival in the sixth and seventh centuries due to the efforts of Fa-lang 法朗 (507-581) and Chi-

tsang 吉藏 (549-623). But more significantly, the Sui-T'ang period saw the earlier Indian based exegetical traditions, such as Ti-lun 地論 (based on the Daśabhūmika-śâstra), She-lun 攝論 (based on the Mahâyâna-saṃgraha), and San-lun traditions replaced by indigenous Chinese schools such as T'ien-t'ai 天台, Hua-yen 華嚴, and Ch'an 禪. Seng-chao's continued celebrity was in part due to the manner in which he recast Buddhist thought in an idiom familiar to, and highly respected by, educated Chinese. Seng-chao's essays were more than mere expositions of Indian Buddhist thought; they were masterpieces of Chinese philosophical literature in their own right. The essays incorporated not only the terminology, but also the dense poetic texture and literary sophistication of the Taoist classics which so appealed to Chinese literati irrespective of religious institutional affiliation.

There is an abundance of evidence that Seng-chao continued to occupy an important place in the minds of T'ang Buddhist exegetes. The Chao-lun was itself the subject of a number of commentaries dating to the late sixth and seventh centuries, including those by Hui-ta 慧達,[19] the San-lun monk Yüan-k'ang 元康 (ca. 627-650),[20] and Hui-ch'eng 慧證.[21] This latter commentary is in fact one of four works on the Chao-lun brought back to Japan by the pilgrim Ennin in 839.[22] Hui-ch'eng, who authored two of the works accompanying Ennin, is associated with Niu-t'ou shan 牛頭山, and a third work is associated with Tung-shan 東山. Both these monastic centers were important focal points in the emergence of Ch'an ideology, and Ch'an exegetes in the T'ang (and Sung) continued to quote copiously from Seng-chao's works. Seng-chao's influence is also clearly visible in works associated with the T'ang Hua-yen tradition, as demonstrated by Kamata in his study of Ch'eng-kuan.[23] Finally, the Chao-lun was an important influence in the composition of a number of apocryphal scriptures, including the Chiu-ching ta-pei ching 究竟大悲經, which date to the late Sui and early T'ang.[24]

In addition to the Chao-lun, Seng-chao's commentary to the Vimalakîrti-sûtra continued to be held in high esteem in the medieval

period, and virtually every major commentary to the Vimalakîrti which survives from the Sui and T'ang shows the influence of Seng-chao's work.[25] Among the manuscripts recovered from Tun-huang we also find two commentaries on Seng-chao's preface to the Vimalakîrti.[26]

The PTL, as we will see in part 2 of this study, is suffused with Ch'an and Hua-yen terminology, and this indeed is what led modern scholars to doubt the attribution to Seng-chao. Nonetheless, this attribution seems to have been accepted without question shortly after the appearance of the text. Given Seng-chao's pre-eminence in the late eighth century, the association with Seng-chao would have greatly elevated the text's stature, particularly in Hua-yen and Ch'an circles. At the same time it would have enabled Ch'an and Hua-yen exegetes to further legitimize their doctrinal innovations by finding clear antecedents in the work of Kumârajîva's greatest disciple.

We must remember, however, that in China, as in India, to "falsely" ascribe a Buddhist text to a saint or holy man did not necessary entail the malicious intention to deceive. We tend to view false attribution in moral and legal terms, as dishonest, duplicitous, or fraudulent. We might designate such texts "apocryphal" at best, "forgeries" or "fakes" at worst. Yet we know that virtually all of the scriptures attributed to the Buddha date to at least several centuries after his demise, and many Buddhist exegetes tacitly recognized the fact that the Mahâyâna scriptures were relatively late and could not literally have been the word of the historical Buddha.[27] To claim a scripture as the word of the Buddha is to claim the identity of the content of the scripture with the religious experience and understanding of the Buddha, and the same holds true for a treatise attributed to a saint or worthy exegete. This is not to say that the authenticity of a text was not an issue, as it clearly was in both India and China. But the issue of authenticity entailed much more than the simple question as to whether or not the text originated at the hand of the putative historical author. The attribution to Seng-chao would, in this view, be claim-

ing only that the PTL is written in the style of Seng-chao, and is sanctioned by the proxy of inspiration.[28]

C. **The Sitz Im Leben of the Pao-tsang lun**

Kamata, the only scholar to have attempted to circumscribe the polemic context out of which the PTL arose, suggested that it probably originated in the area of Mao-shan (Kiangsu) within a Ch'an community associated with the Niu-t'ou 牛頭 or "Ox-head" lineage of Ch'an (1965: 385-398). First, he notes that the PTL is filled with Taoist terminology, and Mao-shan (or Shang-ch'ing 上清) Taoism was the major Taoist school during the first centuries of the T'ang. The PTL also shares terminology with the Chüeh-kuan lun 絶觀論, which Kamata, following the research available to him, believed was authored by Niu-t'ou Fa-jung 牛頭法融 (594-657), the "First Patriarch" of the Ox-head school.[29] In addition, the PTL is replete with San-lun style rhetorical formulations characteristic of Ox-head doctrine. This important early Ch'an lineage was centered in the Mao-shan region of Southeast China.

It is indeed possible that the text originated in the Southeast provinces, and the PTL does show evidence of the influence of works associated with the Ox-head lineage. I have not, however, been able to detect any clear indication of Mao-shan influence; the PTL is, for the most part, free of technical Shang-ch'ing terminology. As I will demonstrate below, the Taoist tradition most visible in the background of the PTL is not that of Mao-shan, but rather the Taoist literary tradition known as ch'ung-hsüan 重玄 or "twofold mystery." Even a cursory familiarity with the relevant texts reveals a host of striking terminological and stylistic similarities between the PTL and texts associated with ch'ung-hsüan. In order to gauge the nature of this influence we will have to examine the status of ch'ung-hsüan Taoism as a "school" in medieval China. But first, I will briefly discuss the Ox-head tradition and the nature of a possible PTL-Ox-head connection.

D. Ox-head Ch'an

Both Sekiguchi Shindai and Kamata Shigeo have drawn attention to similarities in style and content in the PTL and the Chüeh-kuan lun recovered at Tun-huang. Sekiguchi, following earlier studies by Kuno Hôryû (1939) and Ui Hakuju (1939: 91-134), disputed the attribution of the Chüeh-kuan lun to Bodhidharma (an attribution maintained by D. T. Suzuki), and argued instead that the author was Niu-t'ou Fa-jung.[30] More recent studies indicate that the Chüeh-kuan lun is probably the work of a later Ox-head figure working in the latter part of the eighth century. Nonetheless, this text remains the most important surviving doctrinal record of the teachings of Ox-head Ch'an. This long forgotten "lineage" is now recognized, thanks to the studies of Sekiguchi, Yanagida, and McRae, to have played a central role in the early development of Chinese Ch'an.

The Ox-head tradition traces itself to Fa-jung, who is purported to have received transmission from the fourth patriarch of Ch'an, Tao-hsin 道信 (580-651). Fa-jung can be linked with the San-lun exegetical tradition, but it is highly unlikely that Fa-jung conceived of himself as affiliated with any "Ch'an" school whatsoever, not to mention Ox-head. In fact, the "Ox-head School," which took its name from Fa-jung's residence upon Mount Niu-t'ou 牛頭山,[31] did not come to conceive of itself as a separate lineage until at least the time of the fifth patriarch Chih-wei (646-722).[32] It was then, in the early eighth century, that the notion of an Ox-head lineage developed under the influence of, and in response to, developments in the Northern tradition of Shen-hsiu. Gradually, over the next several generations, they arrived at the full version of the lineage succession.

We must keep in mind that lineages such as Ox-head, which emerged around the same time as the early "lamp histories" such as the Ch'üan fa-pao chi 傳法寶紀 (composed ca. 713, T.2838: 85), the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi 楞伽師資記 (composed between 713-716, T.2837: 85), and the

records of the teachings of Ho-tse Shen-hui 荷澤神會 (684-758) such as the P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun 菩提達摩南宗定是非論, are not historical entities per se, but rather organizational categories in a system of religious ideology. In this sense the Ox-head School is better understood in the context of sacred myth than in the context of critical history.[33] Ox-head was no more a "school" in an institutional sense (a self-conscious sociological entity) than was Hua-yen, Pure Land, or any other religious tradition constructed retrospectively by later enthusiastic historians. As McRae notes:

> The term "Ox-head School" (Niu-t'ou tsung) represented a religious ideal with which one might empathize, a loose sense of fellowship rather than a precisely defined clique. . . . Even the association with Mount Niu-t'ou soon became largely sentimental, for by the middle of the eighth century members of the Ox-head school were present at Mount T'ien-t'ai, in Hang-chou, Kuang-ling, and a dozen other locations throughout southeastern China. (McRae 1983: 199)

Nonetheless, the claims made in the late eighth century with respect to an unbroken Ox-head transmission are ideologically of great significance, as the Ox-head lineage was depicted as a transmission independent of both the northern and southern lines (McRae 1983: 195-204). They were strongly influenced by San-lun exegesis which was prominent in the Buddhism of the Southeast. Teachers associated with the Ox-head lineage were most active in the second half of the eighth century, the same period which saw the composition of the PTL, and they were by no means confined to Mount Niu-t'ou, but were spread out throughout the Southeast. At least one teacher associated with this school was in residence on Mount T'ien-t'ai, namely Fo-k'u I-tse 佛窟遺則 (751-830). It is said that his teaching rivaled that of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, though little evidence is available.[34] And their fame spread to the capital as well; one of the teachers, Ching-shan Fa-ch'in 徑山法欽 (714-792) became prominent at the court of T'ai-tsung and may have been the bridge to the lines of Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien 石頭希遷 (700-790).[35]

The historical importance of the Ox-head school lies primarily in two areas: one is the thesis developed by Yanagida that it was a monk associated with this school, Fa-hai 法海, who was responsible for the compilation of the Platform Sûtra,[36] and the second is the suspicion that Ox-head Ch'an served as the link between the main current of early Ch'an -- the derided Northern lineage -- and the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu Tao-i which gave rise to what is now known as the "Golden Age of T'ang Ch'an."

E. The Chüeh-kuan lun 絶觀論

The Chüeh-kuan lun has attracted the attention of a number of Ch'an scholars as it is the most extensive and lucid surviving document of Ox-head doctrine. The earliest known use of the term chüeh-kuan 絶觀 is found in the Ta-ch'eng hsüan-lun 大乘玄論 by Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549-623). It is clear from the usage of the term kuan 觀 that "Chi-tsang is not referring specifically to the practice of vipaśyanâ or insight meditation, but rather to the function of perceptual cognition in general" (McRae 1983: 209). McRae concludes that the title of this text should be translated not as the Treatise on the Eradication of Contemplation, but rather as the Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition (1983: 211).[37]

The Chüeh-kuan lun is consistent in its refusal to posit any "religious ideal or activity" (McRae 1983: 216). It is thoroughly Mâdhyamika in conception, in so far as it seeks to undermine the repeated attempts by the questioner to reify doctrinal tenets, or to delimit a particular approach.

> Throughout the course of the Chüeh-kuan lun, Professor Enlightenment struggles diligently to bring his student to this level of religious sophistication. In the process he deflects Conditionality's interests in pacifying the mind, achieving the extraordinary abilities associated with meditative endeavor . . . and maintaining the letter rather than the true spirit of the

> precepts, etc. When Conditionality succeeds in eliminating all these tendencies, his teacher carries him still further, so that he ultimately achieves a state of perfect wisdom. The point of all the negation and denial, then, is not that there was no positive goal to be reached, but that the discrimination or conceptualization of goals, techniques, and moral standards was absolutely rejected. This is no different from the most fundamental message of the Prajñâpâramitâ or Perfection of Wisdom texts: that one should practice the bodhisattva path, but never perceive there to be any path or any person practicing it. (McRae 1983: 216-217)

If the Chüeh-kuan lun can be said to re-produce, in a more Sinitic mode, Prajñâpâramitâ dialectic, it does so in part by emulating the "dialogical" style of the latter. As exemplified in the exchanges between Chuang-tzu and Hui-tzu, Subhûti and Śâriputra, or Vimalakîrti and Mañjuśrî, this mode of deconstructive analysis does not lend itself to expository prose, but is better expressed through the critical response to questions posed by an interlocutor -- a response which strives to reveal the contradictions inherent in the statements of the interlocutor, without itself advancing an alternative position. Notice the opening to the Chüeh-kuan lun:

> The great way is deep and void, occult and subtle, quiescent and silent. It cannot be grasped with the mind, nor can it be expressed in speech. But we shall posit two persons who together will discuss true reality. The teacher is named Master Principle and the student will be called Conditioned Way. As we begin Master Principle is calm and without words. Conditioned Way abruptly rises and asks . . . (1:1)

We begin with Master Principle embodying the "silence of Vimalakîrti" -- to say anything at all is to risk positing an entity which will serve as the object of attachment. He can only respond. McRae notes the manner in which the structures of the Chüeh-kuan lun and the Platform Sûtra can both be analyzed in terms of "thesis, antithesis, and synthesis." But stylistically, the Chüeh-kuan lun manages this dialectical movement in the same manner as the Vimalakîrtinirdeśa, sections of the Aṣṭasâhasrikâ, and the innumerable other Mahâyâna scriptures which are structured dialogically. The teacher's role is not so much to explicate a position as to undermine that of the student.

Despite McRae's somewhat oversimplified account of stylistic innovation in early Ch'an texts, he successfully demonstrates the degree to which the position of the Ox-head lineage is essentially that of the Northern School (not the doctrines ascribed to the Northern School in the Platform Sûtra, which are held up for criticism, but the positions of the Northern School as found preserved in the Tun-huang corpus).

F. The Pao-tsang lun and the Chüeh-kuan lun

Our digression into the status of Ox-head Ch'an was necessary to understand the significance of similarities in style and lexicon in the PTL, the Chüeh-kuan lun, and other works associated with the Ox-head tradition. Sekiguchi, in the course of his comprehensive analysis of the Ox-head school, notes the Huang-lao Taoist terminology which permeates the Chüeh-kuan lun, and comments on parallels in the PTL. Sekiguchi, writing in the fifties, assumed an early date for the PTL and argued for the attribution of the Chüeh-kuan lun to Niu-t'ou Fa-jung. Sekiguchi was thus led to the conclusion that the PTL may well have been the source for the Taoist terminology in the latter (1957: 166). Kamata was also struck by similarities in conception and vocabulary between the Chüeh-kuan lun and the PTL. Adopting a much later date for the PTL, but accepting the attribution of the Chüeh-kuan lun to Fa-jung, Kamata assumed that the direction of influence was opposite to that suggested by Sekiguchi (Kamata 1965: 390). More recent studies by Yanagida and McRae suggest that the Chüeh-kuan lun may have been compiled by a later member of the Ox-head school, and may well date to the third quarter of the eighth century. This date would make the text roughly contemporaneous with the PTL, rendering the direction of influence impossible to determine from a chronological point of view. But even if the Chüeh-kuan lun is a late eighth-century work, Kamata's point still holds: there is evidence of a connection between the Ox-head school and the PTL.

Most striking is the degree to which the Chüeh-kuan lun, like the PTL, is permeated with Huang-lao style Taoist terminology. The opening line reads: "The great way is deep and void, occult and subtle, quiescent and silent. It cannot be grasped with the mind, nor can it be expressed in speech 夫大道冲虛幽微寂莫 不可以心會 不可以言詮" (1:1). In both style and terminology such statements draw heavily upon the Tao-te ching and the Chuang-tzu, and are characteristic of precisely the kind of ch'ung-hsüan thought we find in the PTL (cf. Tao-te ching: "The way is empty . . . 道冲," and Chuang-tzu 13: "Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction -- these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue 夫虛靜恬淡寂漠無爲者天地之平而道德之至" [33/13/4-5, trans. Watson 1968: 142]).

Kamata also offers numerous examples of phrases which are shared by both the Chüeh-kuan lun and the PTL. In section 14:3 of the Chüeh-kuan lun we read:

> [The student] asks: "What is called a dharma? What is called a non-dharma? And what is called neither a dharma nor a non-dharma?" [The teacher] answers: "If you posit a dharma it is called a dharma. If you negate a dharma it is called a non-dharma. Since it cannot be ascertained by either affirmation or negation, it is called neither a dharma nor a non-dharma." 問曰 何名爲法 何名爲非法 何名爲非法非非法也 答曰 是法名是法 非法名非法 是非非所量 故名非法非非法.

This recalls the Diamond Sûtra, as well as the Pen-chi ching 本際經 and a host of other ch'ung-hsüan documents styled upon Buddhist literature. Compare the above passage with the PTL (149b14-15): "Therefore the scripture says: 'The realm of the sacred is transcendent in that it is not being, not non-being, and not anything which could be designated or ascertained 故經云聖境界離於非有非無非所稱量." Again, in section 13:6-7 of the Chüeh-kuan lun we read:

> [The student] asks: "Is the great teacher 大士 able to transform other living beings or not?" [The teacher] answers: "How could there be darkness in the presence of the sun and the moon? How could there be no light when one picks up a lamp?" [The student]

> asks: "What skillful-means does he employ?" [The teacher] answers: "He is perfectly direct, without any skillful-means."

One of the striking aspects of "sinified" Buddhism as found in the PTL and other early Ch'an ideological documents, is precisely this image of the sage as passive resonator, acting without acting, mediating between heaven and earth. The sage is "perfectly direct" in so far as he is not encumbered with intentionality. To borrow the classic Mahâyâna metaphor, the activity of the sage is not one of pointing to the moon, but rather being the moon. This model of the sage as passive resonator -- the Yellow Emperor paradigm -- underlies later Ch'an monastic ritual, in which the Ch'an abbot ritually engages in "moonlike" behavior. We will explore the nature of the sage in greater detail in chapter 3 of this study.

Finally, the PTL, like the Chüeh-kuan lun, engages in a harsh polemic ridiculing nien-fo 念佛, or "contemplation of the Buddha." This was apparently an important issue to the author of the PTL, and much of the third chapter consists of an attack on the misguided and superficial understanding of nien-fo practices:

> Let us suppose a man contemplates the Buddha and the Buddha appears, or he contemplates the saṃgha and the saṃgha appears. [That appearance is in fact] neither Buddha, nor is it not Buddha, and yet it appears as Buddha. Likewise it is neither the saṃgha, nor is it not the saṃgha, and yet it appears as the saṃgha. Why so? It is because that man, while contemplating, longed for such a vision, and he was therefore unaware that the visions were produced by his own mind. (149a21-24)

The PTL insists that, while some practitioners may indeed attain a vision of the Buddha, such visions are nothing more than the mind playing tricks on itself. The true body of the Buddha is the dharma-body, which is empty and non-dual, and thus cannot be experienced as separate from the one who is experiencing. The real Buddha-body is free of both existence and non-existence, and has nothing to do with the presence or absence of attributes:

> In their longing to attain Buddhahood they contemplate the Buddha, and due to the coalescence of causes and conditions the various attributes of the [Buddha's] body arise. But the dharma-body is neither an attribute nor not an attribute. What does it mean to say it is not an attribute? [It means that] it is fundamentally free of fixed attributes. What does it mean to say it is not not an attribute? [It means that] various attributes do arise conditionally. Therefore the dharma-body is neither manifest nor not manifest. (149b7-10)

The same apparently condescending attitude towards *nien-fo* is exhibited in the *Chüeh-kuan lun*:

> Question: If emptiness is [the Buddha], why does the sage not lead living beings to contemplate emptiness, rather than having them contemplate the Buddha?
>
> Answer: Contemplation of the Buddha is taught for the sake of foolish and simple-minded beings. Should there be a scholar whose mind is set on the Way, then he is taught *to discern the real attribute of the body, which is to discern the Buddha*. This real attribute is empty and devoid of attributes. 問曰 若空是者 聖人何不遣衆生念空 而令念佛也 答曰 爲愚癡衆生 教令念佛 若有道心之士 即令觀身實相 觀佛亦然 夫言實相者 即是空無相也. (4.7)

The underlined portion above is in fact a direct quotation from the Kumârajîva translation of the *Vimalakîrti-sûtra*:

> At that time the World-honored One asked Vimalakîrti: You desire to see the Tathâgata, but how do you go about discerning the Tathâgata? Vimalakîrti replied: *In discerning the real attributes of my own body I discern the Buddha*. I discern that the Tathâgata does not come from the past, nor does he go to the future, nor does he abide in the present. I do not discern [the Tathâgata] in form, nor in the suchness of form, nor in the nature of form. I do not discern [the Tathâgata] in perceptions, conceptions, impulses or consciousness, nor in the suchness of consciousness, nor in the nature of consciousness. He does not arise with the four elements, and he is the same as the empty sky. (T.475: 14.554c28-555a4)

Interestingly enough, the same quotation from the *Vimalakîrti* is also found in the section of the *PTL* which discusses the nature of *nien-fo* and "seeing the Buddha:"

> This very body is essentially infused with the True One -- what need is there to seek outside. Deeply ponder this both day and

> night, and the inner mind will come to realization. Therefore the scripture says: "To discern the real attribute of the body is to discern the Buddha." This real attribute of the body to be discerned is the One Attribute, and the One Attribute is the attribute of emptiness. As it is empty and devoid of attributes, it is thus neither defiled nor pure, neither commoner nor sage, neither existent nor non-existent, neither false nor correct. (149c17-21)

I will argue in the following chapter (section G) that this kind of assault on "contemplating the Buddha" does not constitute evidence of the rejection of nien-fo per se. On the contrary, such polemic discussions are frequently found in texts associated with communities in which nien-fo was, and continued to be, a central religious exercise. What is being repudiated is a particular understanding of nien-fo which would posit the objective existence of a Buddha external to the practitioner himself. For now it is enough to note the similarities in the PTL and Chüeh-kuan lun discussions of nien-fo, not only in terms of rhetoric, but also in the use of the identical passage culled from the Vimalakîrti.

G. The Pao-tsang lun and the Hsin-hsin ming 信心銘

There is also evidence that the author of the PTL may have been familiar with the Hsin-hsin ming 信心銘 ("Inscription on Faith in the [True] Mind"), a text attributed to the shadowy third Ch'an patriarch Seng-ts'an (d. 606?). This fact alone does not shed much light on the date of the PTL, as the origins of Hsin-hsin ming are no better understood than are the origins of the PTL. Nevertheless, a connection between the two texts is consistent with the late eighth-century dating for the PTL, and supports a possible connection with Ox-head Ch'an.

The Hsin-hsin ming, a composition in a somewhat archaic four character verse, is found preserved in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄 (T.2076: 51.457a-b), as well as in four Tun-huang manuscripts.[38] This short poem enjoyed considerable popularity in later Ch'an and Zen circles, and has been translated several times into Japanese and

English.[39] Very little is known, however, about its origins, other than the fact that the attribution to Seng-ts'an is no doubt apocryphal. The earliest references to the *Hsin-hsin ming* are found in early ninth-century materials, perhaps the first being the *Pai-chang huai-hai ch'an-shih kuang-lu* 百丈懷海禪師廣錄.[40] However, despite the early dates for Pai-chang (749[var. 720]-814), this compilation, which survives in the third *chüan* of the *Ssu-chia yü-lu* 四家語錄, can be dated no earlier than the Sung. A more reliable source for establishing a *terminus a quo* is Ch'eng-kuan's *Ta-fang-kuang-fo hua-yen-ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 which cites the *Hsin-hsin ming* by name (T.1736: 36.282c4-5). It is thus likely that the *Hsin-hsin ming* predates the *PTL*, but not by many years.

The *Hsin-hsin ming* reveals the same mix of San-lun, Hua-yen, and *Huang-lao* terminology and thought found in the *Chüeh-kuan lun* and other works associated with eighth-century Ch'an. In fact, the *Hsin-hsin ming* bears a close stylistic and terminological relationship to the *Hsin ming* 心銘 attributed to Fa-jung and also preserved in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (T.2076: 51.457b-458a). Some scholars have, in fact, suggested that the *Hsin-hsin ming* was intended as an "improvement" on this earlier work.[41]

There are numerous passages in the *PTL* which suggest that the author was familiar with the *Hsin-hsin ming*, (and, for that matter, the *Hsin ming*), but I will limit myself to citing a few of the more striking examples. The opening section of the *PTL* contains the phrase: "Thus if one errs by so much as a hair's breadth the transgression is as great as a lofty mountain 差之毫釐 過犯山嶽" (143c3-4). Compare the *Hsin-hsin ming*: "Err by a hair's breadth and heaven and earth are set infinitely apart 毫釐有差 天地懸隔" (457a19-20). Later in the first chapter of the *PTL* we also find:

> Call it inner and it pervades and embraces the dharma realm, yet call it outer and it provides for all as the bearer of form. Call it small and it encompasses that which is most distant, yet call

> it large and it once again enters the realm of the infinitesimal. . . . Call it empty and a myriad functions lie within, yet call it extant and it is deserted and devoid of countenance. 若言其内 通含法界 若言其外 徧應形載 若言其小 包褁彌遠 若言其大 復入塵界 . . . 若言其空 萬用在中 若言其有 関然無容. (144c22-24 and 28-29)

Compare the above with the closing verses of the Hsin-hsin ming:

> The infinitely small is equal to the big
> In the realm where delusion has been cut off.
> The infinitely big is equal to the small
> Where no boundaries are visible.
> Being is precisely non-being,
> And non-being is precisely being.
> If it is not like this, then
> Don't hold on to things as they are.
> One is all and all is one.
> If only you can be like this,
> Why fret about non-perfection?
> Faith and mind are not dual;
> Non-duality is faith in mind.
> Cut off the way of words,
> And there is no future, past or present.
> 極小同大 忘絶境界 極大同小 不見辺表 有即是無 無即是有 若不如此 必不須守 一即一切 一切即一 但能如是 何慮不畢 信心不二 不二信心 言語道断非去来今. (T.2076: 51.457b20-24)

This Hsin-hsin ming passage is echoed again in the final chapter of the PTL: "One is all and all is one, and thus we say that the 'All' forms the myriad images through the activity of the single dharma 一即一切 一切即一 故言一切以一法之功而成萬象" (148c14-15). Kamata has drawn attention to the Hua-yen "flavor" of passages such as these (1965: 328-329). But it would be misleading to overemphasize the role of any specific exegetical or philosophical tradition in the emergence of the rhetorical style and technical terminology common to these works. Rather, these early Ch'an (or "proto-Ch'an") compositions reflect a shared literary culture, and a shared interest in expressing Buddhist insight in an elegant and highly erudite yet concise Chinese idiom which would circumvent the logical gymnastics and tedious complexity of traditional Buddhist exegesis. Little patience is shown for detailed doctrinal analysis or descriptions of "stages along the way." These

texts (to abuse the metaphor), were intended as "moons" rather than "fingers."

Thus it is perhaps significant that so little is known about the authors of these early Ch'an compositions. Were such texts written anonymously? Or were the names of the authors lost or effaced by the later tradition? We may never know. But, from an early date, these texts were attributed to mythologized enlightened masters such as Bodhidharma, Seng-ts'an, or even Seng-chao. These attributions would have served to affirm the compositions as direct expressions of awakening.

There was apparently little resistance to drawing on Taoist literary traditions in the evolution of this early Ch'an prose form. And the literary tradition which most informs these works is that of ch'ung-hsüan Taoism. It is to this tradition that we will now turn our attention.

H. Twofold Mystery (Ch'ung-hsüan) Taoism

The term ch'ung-hsüan is culled from chapter 1 of the Tao-te ching:

Always free of desire in order to discern its secrets;
Always having desire in order to discern its manifestations.
These two emerge together but differ in name.
Being the same they are called mysteries 同謂之玄
Render it mysterious and again mysterious 玄之又玄[42]
The gateway to the myriad wonders.

The term ch'ung-hsüan, or "twofold mystery" (Kohn's translation), functioned as a convenient contraction of the injunction to "render it mysterious and again mysterious." The term became popular among commentators to the Tao-te ching, especially in the early T'ang, but it was not until the tenth century that it was used to refer to a particular style of commentarial writing on the Tao-te ching. This use of the term can be traced back to Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (tzu, Pin-sheng 賓聖, 850-

933), himself a great Tao-te ching exegete.[43] In his Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i 道德眞經廣聖義 (HY.725, f.440-448), Tu Kuang-t'ing divides the authors of Tao-te ching commentaries into five groups. Each group has its own particular approach to the task of explicating the Tao-te ching -- they differ in accordance with their underlying agenda or "intent" (意不同也):

1: Li-kuo 理國, "regulation[44] of the country."
2: Li-shen 理身, "regulation of the body."
3: Shih-li yin-kuo 事理因果, "cause and effect in the interrelation of affairs and principle."
4: Ch'ung-hsüan, "twofold mystery."
5: Hsu-chi wu-wei li-chia li-kuo 虛極無爲理家理國, "regulation of clan and country through utmost emptiness and non-action." (chüan 5.12b)

Tu Kuang-t'ing considers the fifth category to be the most sophisticated as it successfully integrates all the others. But he immediately goes on to argue that this is only one mode of categorizing exegetical strategies. The individual authors placed under the above headings also differ in respect to their "essential doctrine" or tsung 宗. Tu Kuang-t'ing lists five such "essential doctrines" and associates groups of Taoist exegetes with each (chüan 5.13a):

1: hsü-hsüan 虛玄, "empty mystery."
2: wu-wei 無爲, "non-action."
3: tao-te 道德, "the way and virtue."
4: fei-yu fei-wu 非有非無, "neither being nor non-being."
5: ch'ung-hsüan 重玄, "twofold mystery."

It is apparent that Tu Kuang-t'ing's groupings were intended as a loose way of organizing the diverse exegetical strategies characteristic of commentators to the Tao-te ching. There is little evidence of an attempt to be systematic, and one immediately notices two separate ch'ung-hsüan headings, constituting the fourth position in the first group, and the fifth postition in the second. Meng Chih-chou 孟智周 and Tsang Hsüan-ching 臧玄靜, who are both included under the ch'ung-hsüan heading in the first group, fall into the tao-te heading in the second. In addition, authors grouped together in the first list are occasionally

separated in the second. Sun Teng 孫登 and Ku Huan 顧歡 are both listed under the li-shen heading in the first list, but in the second Ku Huan is in the wu-wei category and Sun Teng in the ch'ung-hsüan group. There is no indication that the term ch'ung-hsüan was used by Tu Kuang-t'ing to designate a self-conscious school, sect or tradition of commentarial writing. We will return to this point below.

Tu Kuan-t'ing mentions eleven persons in all under the first ch'ung-hsüan grouping. If we add Sun Teng, who appears by himself in the second ch'ung-hsüan group, we arrive at a total of twelve Taoist writers associated with the term "twofold mystery" by Tu Kuang-t'ing:

1: Sun Teng 孫登 (Kung-ho 公和, fl. 260-265) of the Chin dynasty appears in the Shih-shuo-hsin-yü 世說新語 (Mather 1976: 332-333) and was teacher of the famous Hsi K'ang (Mather 1976: 573; Robinet 1977: 98-99). He is mentioned in the Tao-te ching chieh t'i hsü-chüeh i-shu 道德經解題序訣義疏 by Ch'eng Hsüan-ying 成玄英 (see number six below) as one who established ch'ung-hsüan as the "essential doctrine" 宗: "Although there are many differences between houses 家, I now take Sun [Teng] as correct 正. He properly made ch'ung-hsüan his essential doctrine, and non-action his body 體" (Yoshioka 1970: 114).

2: Meng Chih-chou 孟智周 (also known as Hsiao Meng 小孟) of the Liu Sung and Liang dynasties, is credited with an important development in san-i 三一 ("three ones") doctrine, although only a single citation from one of his commentaries survives. He is mentioned in this regard in the Pien-cheng lun 辯正論 (T.2110: 52.536c24) as well as in the HHMC (T.2103: 52.187a5).[45]

3: Tsang Hsüan-ching 臧玄靜 (Tao-tsung 道宗) of the Liang Dynasty, was active in the Hsüan-chen 玄眞 monastery given to him by emperor Hsüan of the Ch'en in the mid-seventh century. Only two citations from his commentaries survive.[46]

4: Chu Jou 諸糅 of the Ch'en is known only through the single mention of him by Tu Kuang-t'ing.

5: Liu Chin-hsi 劉進喜 of the T'ang is said by Hsüan-i to have forged the first five chüan of the Pen-chi ching 本際經.[47] We know that in 618 he lived in the Ch'ing-hsü kuan 淸虛觀 in Ch'ang-an, and, according to Tao-hsüan's 道宣 Ta-t'ang nei-tien-lu 大唐內典録 (T.2149: 55.281b23-24; 382b14) he died around the same time as Fa-lin 法琳, i.e., 640. Liu Chin-hsi was given the task of explaining the Tao-te ching in a debate with Buddhists ordered by T'ang

Kao-tsu (r. 618-627).[48] In addition, he authored an anti-Buddhist polemic text (the Hsien cheng lun 顯正論), an essay on Tao-te ching (the Lao-tzu t'ung chu lun 老子通諸論), as well as a commentary (the Tao-te ching i-shu 道德經義疏). Wu Chi-yu thinks he came from the area around Tan-yang 丹陽 (1960: 12).[49]

6: Ch'eng Hsüan-ying 成玄英 (Tzu-shih 子實, Hao: Hsi-hua 西華) of the T'ang is perhaps the most important ch'ung-hsüan figure, if only because of the amount of his work which survives. He was born in Lu-chou 陸州 (in Kwangtung) and lived in reclusion in Tung-hai 東海 until summoned to the capital by T'ang T'ai-tsung in 632.[50] In 636 he was selected to participate in a Buddho-Taoist debate ordered by T'ang T'ai-tsung, and due to his success the emperor proclaimed the superiority of Taoism and had the temple of Lao-tzu restored. In 643 he became abbot of the Hsi-hua kuan 西華觀, and he was called upon in 646 to investigate the newly discovered San-huang wen 三皇文 ("Talisman of the Three August Ones"). Ch'eng exposed the text as a forgery upon which it was burnt (Sunayama 1980b: 126). In 647 he was ordered by the emperor T'ai-tsung to collaborate with Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 (ca. 602-664) and Ts'ai Huang 蔡晃 on a translation of the Tao-te ching into Sanskrit.[51] For reasons which are not entirely clear he was banished to Yü-chou 郁州 during the Yung-hui reign period (650-656).

Ch'eng Hsüan-ying was the author of a sub-commentary on the Kuo-hsiang commentary on the Chuang-tzu (the Nan-hua chen ching chu shu 南華眞經註疏 in thirty-five chüan, HY.745, f.507-519), as well as commentaries to the I-ching (the Chou-i liu-yen 周易流演, now lost), the Ling-pao tu-jen ching (Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao ching 靈寶無量度人上品妙經, HY.87, f.38-39), and the Tao-te ching.[52]

7: Ts'ai Huang 蔡晃 (or Tzu Huang 子晃) of the T'ang was active in the Buddho-Taoist debates held in 638, and authored at least one commentary on the Tao-te ching. He was one of the participants with Ch'eng Hsüan-ying in the Sanskrit translation of the Tao-te ching.[53] On the occasion of his translation he declared:

> I have studied the principles in the Vimalakîrti and the Three Treatises to the point at which their essential instructions flow spontaneously from me . . . Although the texts of the Taoists differ from those of the Buddhists, the tenets are essentially the same.[54]

8: Huang Hsüan-i 黃玄頤 is known only through the mention of him by Tu Kuang-t'ing.

9: Li Jung 李榮 (Jen-chen tzu 任眞子) of the T'ang came from Mien-hsien 綿縣 near Ch'eng-tu in Szechwan, and was a contemporary of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, though perhaps a little younger.[55] Li Jung,

who is known to have resided in both the Tung-ming kuan 東明觀 and the Yüan-t'ien kuan 元天觀, played an important part in the debates between Buddhists and Taoists in the Early T'ang.[56] It was during the debate of 658 that Li Jung presented the Taoist understanding of the term pen-chi 本際 or "point of genesis."[57] He authored the Tao-te chen-ching chieh-i 道德眞經解義 (HY.721, f.429-430), the Tao-te chen-ching chu 道德眞經註 (HY.722, f.430), and the Hsi-sheng ching chu 西昇經注 (preserved in HY.726, f.449-450).[58]

10: Ch'e Hui-pi 車惠弼 (Hsüan-pi 玄弼), also mentioned by Tu Kuang-t'ing, is known only through a few scattered citations from his commentary (Robinet 1977: 107).

11,12: The last two Taoists associated with ch'ung-hsüan thought by Tu Kuang-t'ing are Chang Hui-ch'ao 張惠超 and Li Yüan-hsing 黎元興, about whom little is known. They apparently worked together spreading the doctrine in Hsi-shu 西蜀 (west-central Szechwan). The latter, also known as abbot of a temple in Ch'eng-tu, was said to have been one of the authors of the Hai-k'ung ching 海空經.[59]

All the above are known or presumed to be authors of commentaries on the Tao-te ching, and their exegetical style is characterized by Tu Kuang-t'ing as emphasizing the "twofold mystery." Modern scholars have, however, taken these categories suggested by Tu Kuang-t'ing and used them to reconstruct a virtual "school" of Taoism which supposedly flourished in the early T'ang. The manner in which a few innocent comments by the tenth-century Tu Kuang-t'ing were used as the basis for the construction of a lineage is an object study in the Japanese penchant for reifying sects or schools in terms of "lines of transmission."

It was Fujiwara Takao who, in his article "Rôshi-kai jûgen-ha kô 老子解重玄派考" (1961), first referred to the Taoists in Tu Kuang-t'ing's list as constituting a "Twofold Mystery Sect of Lao-tzu Exegesis 老子解重玄派." Fujiwara continued to work on this tradition of Lao-tzu exegesis, producing copious articles on the personalities and texts associated with this "sect."

Sunayama Minoru went one step further, arguing that ch'ung-hsüan refers to more than simply a school of Tao-te ching commentarial writing. According to Sunayama, ch'ung-hsüan properly refers to a full-

fledged school of Taoism which flourished in the late Sui and early T'ang. Sunayama musters considerable evidence that this "school," which he refers to as the "Taoist Twofold Mystery Sect" (dôkyô jûgen ha 道教重玄派, Sunayama 1980a), was involved in considerably more than Lao-tzu exegesis.

Sunayama begins by demonstrating that Twofold Mystery thought extends well beyond the confines of commentaries to the Tao-te ching. According to Sunayama the following texts must be included in any discussion of ch'ung-hsüan philosophy:

1: Pen-chi ching 本際經 ("Scripture of the Genesis Point"). This scripture also goes by two longer titles, the T'ai-hsüan chen-i pen-chi miao ching 太玄眞一本際妙經, and T'ung-ch'ang pen-chi miao ching 通常本際妙經. According to the Chen cheng lun 甄正論 compiled by Hsüan-i 玄嶷, the first five fascicles of this text were written by Liu Chin-hsi, and the text was expanded to ten fascicles by Li Chung-ch'ing 李仲卿 (T.2112: 52.569c9-15). The Pen-chi ching is frequently cited in Taoist texts, but the ten-fascicle work had been lost prior to this century except for two chapters preserved in the Tao-tsang.[60]

The Pen-chi ching was particularly influential in the mid-eighth century, as it was singled out by emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (r.712-756) for distribution throughout the empire as part of his enthusiastic promotion of Taoist learning among the masses. In 741 the emperor announced that:

> We have ordered all temples in the empire to begin copying the Pen-chi ching on the first day of the first month of the coming year, and to continue until the end of the year. Priests in those temples are to lecture on and chant the scripture during observances for the four great purification rites [rites convened on the first day of each season?] and for all official purification ceremonies. (Benn 1977: 248)

Apparently the distribution of the text was a success: we learn from an imperial edict issued in the following year that, "as a result [of the order to Taoist temples to copy the Pen-chi ching], this fall We have heard that there was an abundant harvest. If this was not the response of the Great Sage, who could have accomplished it?" (Benn 1977: 249). In any event, we can gauge the results of Hsüan-tsung's efforts to advance the text from the sheer number of manuscripts, eighty-one in all, unearthed at Tun-huang.[61] We shall see below that this important Taoist scripture may well have influenced the PTL.

2: Hsüan-men ta-i 玄門大義 ("The Great Meaning of the Gate of Mystery").[62] This text dates to the late sixth century, and seems to have inspired the Tao-chiao i-shu.

3: Tao-chiao i-shu 道教義樞 ("Pivotal Meaning of the Taoist Teaching") by Meng An-pai 孟安排.[63] Compiled in the seventh century, the Tao-chiao i-shu influenced the organization of many later Taoist compilations, most notably the Sung compendium, the Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 雲笈七籤. The Tao-chiao i-shu was written in part as a Taoist response to Buddhist criticism, and is teeming with Buddhist terminology (see below).

4: Hsi-yü shen-hsin ching 洗浴身心經 ("Scripture of the Cleansing and Purification of Body and Mind").[64] According to Hsüan-i's Chen cheng lun, this short text of four pages was written by Li Jung, one of the most important ch'ung-hsüan exegetes (T.2112: 52.569c13-14).[65]

5: Ta-hsien ching 大獻經 ("The Scripture of Great Offerings"). Yoshioka believes this text to have been composed around the time of Cheng Hsüan-t'ing (1976a: 238-243).[66] The Chen cheng lun claims that this text was forged by Liu Wu-tai 劉無待 in emulation of the (apocryphal) Yü-lan-p'en ching 盂蘭盆經 (T.2112: 52.569c14-15).

6: Chiu yu ching 九幽經 ("Scripture of the Nine Occult [Repentances]"), also attributed to Liu Wu-tai by Hsüan-i (T.2112: 52.569c15).[67] This text appears around the end of Hsüan-tsung's reign (Yoshioka 1970: 393).

7: Hai-k'ung ching 海空經 ("Scripture of [Master] Hai-k'ung") is attributed to Li Yüan-hsing 黎元興 and Fang Chang 方長 in the Chen cheng lun (T.2112: 52.569c12-13).[68] Li Yüan-hsing, as we have seen, is associated with the ch'ung-hsüan tradition.

Sunayama argues that these texts can be grouped together by virtue of shared rhetorical style, shared vocabulary, and a concern with themes associated with ch'ung-hsüan exegesis (see below). Sunayama attributes considerable significance to the fact that the term ch'ung-hsüan occurs in the Tao-chiao i-shu, the Hsüan-men ta-i, and the Ta-hsien ching. This fact alone, according to Sunayama, is sufficient to identify them as products of this school. And if the latter text can be associated with the ch'ung-hsüan movement, then so can the Chiu-yu ching which is attributed to the same author, Liu Wu-tai. Furthermore, the Buddhist polemicist Hsüan-i explicitly attributes the Pen-chi ching, Hsi-yü shen-

hsin ching and Hai-k'ung ching to authors associated with the ch'ung-hsüan tradition.

Sunayama also notes the fact that many members of this "school" incorporate the character hsüan 玄 in their name, as did the emperor Hsüan-tsung who was a patron of Taoism and a sponsor of Buddho-Taoist debates (1980a: 36). In this Sunayama is making an analogy with the Buddhist practice of incorporating the name of one's tonsure master into one's own dharma name, thereby entering into a "dharma family" or lineage.

Sunayama concludes that ch'ung-hsüan properly refers to more than simply a literati tradition concerned with writing commentaries on the Tao-te ching. Ch'ung-hsüan was a full-fledged Taoist school which flourished in the early T'ang. Many of the luminaries in this school were involved in Buddho-Taoist debates, including Liu Chin-hsi, Li Chung-ch'ing, Li Yüan-hsing, Fang Chang, Li Jung, and Liu Wu-tai, all of whom are mentioned in the Chen cheng lun (T.2112: 52.569c9-15). Having established the existence of the ch'ung-hsüan "school," Sunayama goes on to trace its roots in the T'ai-hsüan p'ai 太玄派 and the Ling-pao p'ai 靈寶派 traditions.[69]

Sunayama is not content merely to demonstrate the existence of such a school. He goes on to chart the genealogy (keifu 系譜) of the Ch'ung-hsüan-p'ai and produces a "genealogical chart" in which the relationships of each of the twelve persons and seven texts mentioned above are graphically illustrated (1980a: 41). Sunayama clearly has the East Asian Buddhist model in mind, wherein a sect or school (ha 派) is conceived as analogous to an extended family or clan, and the lineage of master-disciple relations can be represented in the form of a family-tree. The classic model of all Buddhist dharma lineages is that of Ch'an, which began producing quasi-historical retrospective lineages in the eighth century and continues to the present day. Such lineage charts are invariably polemic -- they are attempts to legitimize the

claims of Buddhist monks to be members of the authentic and orthodox tradition by demonstrating their place in a line of direct transmission originating with Śākyamuni. Ch'an came to conceive of itself as an extended family united by virtue of descent from a common ancestor.

The early Ch'an genealogies are "apocryphal" in that they often do not represent the actual historical relations which held between living individuals. But this is in no way to impugn their claim to authority -- the transmission was the transmission of the dharma, an event which takes place outside time and space, or, in another rhetoric, in sacred time and sacred space. There is ample indication that lineages were not intended to be understood as implying an actual historical meeting between a particular master and his dharma-heir. Some heirs were born after the death of their purported master, and there are a number of instances, both ancient and modern, of transmission occurring via the mail between persons who never actually met.[70] My point of departure in the current context is only that, by the late eighth century, some Buddhist monks clearly identified themselves with a spiritual lineage going back to Bodhidharma and to Śākyamuni himself. On the other hand there is absolutely no indication whatsoever that the individuals whom Fujiwara, Sunayama, and Robinet identify as <u>ch'ung-hsüan</u> Taoists conceived of themselves along such lines. Indeed, it would seem clear that Tu Kuang-t'ing was doing little more than groping for a way to organize, in terms of content and style, the commentaries at his disposal. Sunayama's "geneological chart" is constructed simply by placing the Taoists mentioned by Tu Kuang-t'ing in chronological order, joining their names with lines, and then associating them with particular texts on the basis of Hsüan-i's polemic attributions. There is simply no compelling evidence that T'ang Taoists were in any way cognizant of a <u>ch'ung-hsüan</u> school during the T'ang.

Another problem with the construction of such a school or sect is the fact that the term <u>ch'ung-hsüan</u> appears in a wide variety of Buddhist texts of the same period. Kamata, who collected these references

in his examination of the Taoist influence in the thought of Ch'eng-kuan, cites Fujiwara for his discovery of the ch'ung-hsüan-p'ai 重玄派 (Kamata 1965: 276). He goes on to document the pervasive ch'ung-hsüan influence on Six Dynasties, Sui and T'ang Buddhist exegetes. Nevertheless, the extent to which Buddhist texts are permeated with the vocabulary of this Taoist "sect" is further indication that we may be dealing with a literary or philosophical fashion, rather than with a religious "school" in the institutional or sociological sense of the word.

One of the more interesting occurrences of the term ch'ung-hsüan in a Buddhist work is found in the sayings of Shen-hsiu as recorded in the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi. Near the end of the record, in a list of short maxims, Shen-hsiu refers to his own teaching as the "gate of the twofold mystery 重玄門."[71] Yanagida believes that Shen-hsiu may have been drawing upon the P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching 菩薩瓔珞本業經, a Chinese apocryphon of considerable influence in the Sui and T'ang periods.[72] Yet these are but a few of the many Chinese Buddhist compositions containing the term "twofold mystery," over a dozen of which are roughly contemporaneous with the ch'ung-hsüan authors mentioned above.[73]

I do not intend to abandon the term ch'ung-hsüan, or "twofold mystery," altogether. Fujiwara, Sunayama, and Robinet are clearly not mistaken in following the lead of Tu Kuang-t'ing and grouping together the texts and authors enumerated above. The authors they associate with ch'ung-hsüan share much in the way of philosophical and religious interests, literary style, and technical terminology. They represent a style of Taoist writing which was both fashionable and influential among literati in the early T'ang. Furthermore, there is considerable evidence that these authors enjoyed the esteem of the court -- they were frequently called upon to represent the Taoist side in Buddho-Taoist debates, and this at a time when the T'ang emperors were generally sympathetic to Taoist interests. Indeed, their interaction with Buddhist

literati at court-sponsored events may account in part for the Buddhist terminology which saturates the writings of these Taoist authors.

Yet these facts in no way count as evidence that these authors were the focus of a Taoist "school." That so many authors, and even emperor Hsüan-tsung himself, incorporated the character hsüan into their names attests only to the fact that the term "mystery" was in vogue among seventh-century Taoist literati. The truth is we know virtually nothing about the institutional affiliations of most of the Taoists in our group. Were they initiates in Taoist priestly lineages, or associated with the Mao-shan patriarchy? Were they involved in any particular liturgical, ritual, or meditative traditions? Given the sources available and the state of current research, we are not yet in a position to answer any of these questions.

I will, accordingly, continue to use the term ch'ung-hsüan to refer to a nominally "Taoist" literary style current in the seventh and eighth centuries. The major authors associated with this style -- Liu Ching-hsi, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, and Li Jung -- were all associated with Buddho-Taoist debates. Their writing is influenced by that of Wang Pi and the earlier hsüan-hsüeh tradition of the Six Dynasties, which in turn informed both the Ling-pao and T'ai-hsüan traditions. One of the prominent features of ch'ung-hsüan exegesis is its extensive appropriation of Buddhist terminology and specifically Mâdhyamika dialectic. Before going on to consider the significance of the marked similarities between the ch'ung-hsüan texts mentioned above and the PTL, we will briefly examine the rhetorical style characteristic of ch'ung-hsüan Taoism.

I. Twofold Mystery Taoism and Mâdhyamika Buddhism

As we saw above, the term "twofold mystery" or "double mystery" refers to the hsüan-chih yu-hsüan 玄之又玄 of chapter 1 of the Tao-te ching. The ch'ung-hsüan authors interpret it as follows: to render it mysterious is to go beyond attachment to either being or non-being, and to render it again mysterious is to abandon attachment to even the mysterious. Li Jung says: "It is for the sake of the mystery that one abandons both being and non-being. Once both being and non-being are abandoned, the mystery fades away of itself" (HY.721, f.430: 1.4a).

The term ch'ung-hsüan does not occur in either the Pao-p'u-tzu or the Chen-kao and its commentary. It does occur twice in the Wu-shang pi-yao 無上秘要 where it refers to a heaven above all heavens, the realm of Shang-ch'ing hsüan-tu 上清玄都.[74] Sunayama believes that this use of the term Ch'ung-hsüan as a "place-name" does not bear directly on the later use of the term by the authors who concern us here (1980a: 39). But this use of ch'ung-hsüan is somewhat typical of many Buddhist and Taoist cosmological names, and it is difficult to determine when such a term refers to an actual geographical location in the universe, to a mythical place in "sacred space," or metaphorically to a state of mind or mode of perception. Cosmological terms often carry resonances of all three.

We do find the term ch'ung-hsüan in a variety of early Buddhist works referring more generally to the "profundity of the Tao." The term is found in the works of Chih Tun 支遁 (314-366), a contemporary of the "proto" Twofold Mystery Taoist Sun Teng, as well as the Chao-lun by Seng-chao.[75] The Pien-cheng lun mentions ch'ung-hsüan among a list of Taoist practices (T.2110: 52.498c1), and it also appears in the Chen-cheng lun (T.2112: 52.565c22-23). In this latter account it is used by the master to refute the Taoist "conversion of the barbarians" (hua-hu) doctrine.

The earliest known Taoist scripture in which the term ch'ung-hsüan is explicitly interpreted as "non-attachment" is the Pen-chi ching:

> When mystery 玄 is spoken of it means non-attachment to anything in the four quarters. This exhausts the meaning of mystery. Therefore the practitioner must be without attachment or entanglement to either emptiness or being. This can be called mystery. Moreover one must abandon [even] this mystery. There is nothing at all to be attained, and therefore it is called the gateway to the many marvels of the Twofold Mystery 重玄衆妙之門. (Sunayama 1980a: 39).

This is precisely the sense given to ch'ung-hsüan by Ch'eng Hsüan-ying in his preface to his commentary on the Tao-te ching, which, like the Pen-chi ching, dates to the first half of the sixth century:

> "Mystery" refers to that which is both profound and distant, and it also means non-attachment 無滯. It is called the most profound and the most distant, free of both attachment and entanglement. Since there is no attachment to being, there is also no attachment to non-being. And since there is no attachment to attachment, there is also no attachment to non-attachment. The hundred negations and the four propositions all cease to be objects of attachment, and thus it is called the "Twofold Mystery."[76]

One is immediately struck by the explicit reference to central Buddhist doctrines in this passage. The key to Ch'eng's understanding of "rendering mysterious" is non-attachment understood dialectically -- non-attachment to being is accomplished, in part, through penetrating non-being, but one must go on to realize non-attachment to non-being, and finally non-attachment to non-attachment. More striking, yet equally characteristic of ch'ung-hsüan exegesis, is the reference in the latter quote to the somewhat technical Buddhist term "four propositions" (also rendered as the "four-cornered negation" or the "tetralemma," ssu-chü 四句). The four propositions (Sk. catuṣkoṭi) first occur in Buddhist literature in reference to the undecided questions (Sk. avyâkṛta-vastûni), namely, whether the universe is eternal or not, bounded or not, whether or not the Tathâgata exists after his parinirvâṇa, and whether or not the soul is identical with the body.[77] In the classical formulation of the catuṣkoṭi, for each case four alternative positions

are enumerated -- the affirmation of the thesis, the denial of the thesis (or the counter-thesis), the simultaneous assertion of both the thesis and the counter-thesis, and the denial of both the thesis and counter-thesis (e.g., "is the universe infinite, finite, both infinite and finite, or neither infinite nor finite?"). Implicit in this rhetorical structure is the conviction that the four exhaust all the logical possibilities -- there is no fifth position with regard to the thesis at hand. In the context of the undecided questions, the Buddha refuses to affirm the truth of any of the four possible positions.[78]

Nâgârjuna adopts the same four-stage rhetorical structure in his Mûla-madhyamaka-kârikâ. Here Nâgârjuna attempts to refute all philosophical positions by demonstrating the manner in which any assertion can be cast in the form of the tetralemma, and then exposed as entailing self-contradiction. The key to Nâgârjuna's refutation of all positions is his insistence upon a sharply constrained use of the term svabhâva ("own-being") that guarantees philosophical paradox. For something to exist in an absolute sense -- to possess svabhâva -- it must exist in and of itself, radically independent of all other existence. At the same time, Nâgârjuna's analysis of the grammar of conceptual thought reveals the extent to which things exist only in relation to other things. Upon analysis, all the constituent elements of our world are shown to exist relationally, and are thus said to be "empty" -- meaning empty of "own-being." Furthermore, according to Nâgârjuna, it cannot be of such "empty" objects that they either exist, or do not exist, or both, or neither. It simply makes no sense to predicate either existence or non-existence, or, for that matter, any other attribute, to objects devoid of own-being.

One strategy not uncommon in Chinese San-lun exegesis was to attempt to synthesize the logical form of the four-fold negation with the doctrine of "two truths." The two truths had come to function somewhat differently in Chinese Buddhist exegesis than they had in India. In early Indian Mâdhyamika philosophy the two truths function rhetorically

as different levels of description -- a progression from a less accurate description of reality to a more accurate one (the criteria for accuracy being determined by assumptions built into Buddhist epistemology and logic).[79] The shift in perspective between the two truths is analogous to the shift from âgama-style discourse to abhidharma analysis -- from a description of the world in terms of interacting persons to a description of the world in terms of the cause and effect relationships between impersonal physical and psychic forces (dharmas). In abhidharmic analysis all reference to the self (pudgala) drops away, and thus, ontologically, abhidharmic discourse is more precise, more "true" in so far as it avoids unwarranted reification. There is no question of two realities, but rather two different levels of description. Similarly, in the case of Nâgârjuna's two truths, conventional language (saṃvṛti) does not refer to real objects -- a "chariot" is simply a convenient designation for a dependently-originated mental construction. But nor does absolute language (paramârtha) refer to real objects -- "emptiness" (śûnyatâ) is not an object. There is, therefore, no ontological difference between the two truths -- they both denote the absence of svabhâva.

One problem with the two-truth rhetoric of the Mûla-madhyamaka-kârikâ is that the "higher" descriptive level is so radically deconstructive as to seem nihilistic -- threatening the very integrity of the Buddhist path. Nâgârjuna counters, somewhat lamely, with the claim that his ultimate hermeneutic principle -- emptiness -- is not the only truth. It does not mitigate against conventional reality -- the sphere in which Buddhist truths are efficacious. Nâgârjuna was careful to call the "conventional" (saṃvṛti) a "truth" (satya).

The resulting confusions are many. Among them: (1) To borrow a phrase from Robert Gimello, in early Mâdhyamika "saṃvṛti always ends up looking like a generous euphemism for 'falsehood;'" and (2) despite his best intentions, Nâgârjuna appears at times to conjure a dualist metaphysic. This, along with a marked Mahâyâna tendency towards reify-

ing the absolute, gives rise to exactly the kinds of problems Nâgârjuna set out to deconstruct. In the Chinese case one finds numerous examples of just this kind of reification, wherein "ultimate truth" is no longer the designation for a particular perspective, but is rather the Realm of the Absolute, immutable and transcendent to the defiled realm of saṃsâra.

In China, the conflation of the tetralemma and the two truths facilitated a more "existential" understanding of Mâdhyamika dialectics. The dialectic, according to this interpretation, is not merely a series of logical steps through which one may expose the inherent flaws in any particular ontological claim, but is rather a model of the path to liberation. Each of the four steps of the tetralemma are stages on the adept's path to the realization of ultimate truth. The two truths correspond to different levels of understanding, and/or to people of differing capacities. Chi-tsang, to pick but one example, talks of the three stages of attainment of the two truths:

> When it is said that dharmas are extant, it is ordinary people who say so. This is Worldly Truth, the truth of ordinary people. Saints and sages, however, truly know that the nature of all dharmas is empty. This is Absolute truth, the truth of the sages, which is taught in order to lead people from the worldly to the absolute, to renounce [the life] of ordinary people and to accept that of the sages. This is the reason for clarifying the first stage of twofold truth.
>
> Next comes the second stage, which explains that both being and non-being belong to Worldly Truth, whereas non-duality belongs to Absolute Truth. It explains being and non-being as two extremes: being is one extreme and non-being another, [and the analysis is the same for everything including] permanence and impermanence, saṃsâra and nirvâṇa, all of which are pairs of extremes. Since absolute and worldly, saṃsâra and nirvâṇa are all two extremes, they are designated Worldly Truth. Neither absolute nor worldly, neither saṃsâra nor nirvâṇa, the non-dual Middle Way -- this is the Absolute Truth.
>
> The third stage is that in which both duality and nonduality are [understood as] Worldly Truth, whereas neither duality nor non-duality is Ultimate Truth. . . . Duality is a partial [view] while non-duality is the middle [view]. But partiality is one ex-

> treme and the middle is another. Thus both the partial and the middle, are two extremes, and being two extremes, they are designated Worldly Truth. That which is neither partial nor middle is the absolute of the Middle Way.[80]

In each of the stages the thesis-antithesis duality characteristic of the previous stage is resolved in the process of making it a single pole in a new dual structure. Dualities are to be overcome, but, of necessity, only by positing new dualities, constructing an ascending spiral of perspectives.[81] Each new perspective sublates (to use the Hegelian term) the dichotomies inherent in the previous position.

Chi-tsang has ingeniously incorporated the two truths into the dialectical structure of the tetralemma. Each of the stages within the dialectic functions as an antidote or remedy (Sk. pratipakṣa) to that which came before. But the focus of the remedy is not merely the refutation of a flawed philosophical position; it is rather the ascension to a "higher plane of being." This understanding of the dialectic is characteristic of the Chinese penchant for "existentializing" Indian logical formulations. Indian Mâdhyamika thinkers analyzed the grammar of conceptual thought and showed it to be inadequate to the task of representing reality. Nâgârjuna's dialectic is not intended to function as a map, revealing the topology of the path. Nâgârjuna is not "going anywhere," since for Nâgârjuna, as for some later Ch'an masters, there is no place to go. But it is characteristic of many Chinese exegetes, Chi-tsang included, to understand the dialectic as a soteriological road-map, describing successive stages of the path which correspond to stages of increasingly purified vision and rarefied understanding.

The ch'ung-hsüan thinkers made ample use of the notion of remedy -- each proposition remedies the preceding one, and none is to be considered absolute. The adept must ceaselessly aim for the Tao of the "middle" by striving to transcend his current position. This "Buddhologized" understanding of the path is explicit in the writings of both Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, in which the term ch'ung-hsüan

stands as an abbreviation for the soteriological endeavor in which one must "go beyond even mystery."

J. Buddhist Influence on Twofold Mystery Dialectic

There are a number of phrases and terms similar in structure to the term "ch'ung-hsüan" which capture this same dialectical movement. These include the "decrease and again decrease" (sun chih yu sun 損之又損) from chapter 48 of the Tao-te ching, and "double forgetfulness" (chien-wang 兼忘) which can be traced back to the Chuang-tzu. In each case the ch'ung-hsüan exposition of the terms is heavily indebted to Mâdhyamika thought, but the underlying cosmology and religious ethos remains unmistakably Taoist.

"Decrease and again decrease," is clearly parallel to the "render it mysterious and again mysterious" (hsüan chih yu hsüan) of Tao-te ching 1. The ch'ung-hsüan commentaries interpret the former expression in terms of "being" and "non-being" -- one first diminishes attachment to being, and, as being is diminished, attachment to non-being will follow in due course (Robinet 1977: 112-113).

The latter expression, "double forgetfulness," is mentioned in the Pen-chi ching, where it is used to explain "twofold mystery" as a two stage process. In a discussion of "double forgetfulness" Kohn comments:

> First one has to abandon all that is around oneself, then one goes on to abandon the forgetting process itself. As Ch'eng Hsüan-ying has it in chüan 56 of his commentary to the Tao-te ching: "Projected reality and inner knowledge have to be abandoned. Once one has forgotten oneself and others in this twofold manner, one will regard the close and the distant in the same way." (1987b: 42)

In this sense both ch'ung-hsüan and chien-wang are similar to the term tso-wang 坐忘, or "sitting in forgetfulness." According to Robinet, these terms refer to a "second step in the mediation on the yu and the

wu: one must 'empty oneself of the empty'" (Robinet, in Kohn 1987b: 13). Unlike the classical hsüan-hsüeh thought of Wang Pi, ch'ung-hsüan thinking denies any ultimate distinction between being and non-being, or being and emptiness.

The degree to which ch'ung-hsüan exegesis is permeated by Buddhist thought should now be readily apparent. Indeed, passages in the commentaries of Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying could at times be taken as inventive exercises in Buddhist readings of Taoist classics. To choose but one example, take the following line from chapter 4 of the Tao-te ching: "The way is empty yet use will not drain it 道冲而用之或不盈."[82] Both Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying interpret ch'ung 冲 as chung 中, i.e., the "middle" of the "middle-view" (chung-kuan 中觀, the Chinese translation of madhyamaka). Li Jung comments on this passage:

> The Way of the Harmony of the Middle 中和之道 is neither filled nor does it deplete. It is neither being nor non-being nor both together, nor is it full or empty. [Lao-tzu] employs the remedy of the Middle Way to cure the disease of the two extremes. Once the sickness is cured, one can abandon the remedy.[83]

Whereas hsüan-hsüeh Taoists in the tradition of Wang Pi were prone to exalt non-being (wu 無) over being (yu 有), one of the distinguishing characteristics of ch'ung-hsüan philosophy is the additional dialectical opposition of emptiness (k'ung 空) and being. Wang Pi's "non-being" is privileged with respect to being, but the ch'ung-hsüan "emptiness" is to be abandoned along with "being" -- the two are but one more duality to be transcended. This rejection of dualities embodied in mutually opposing and thus mutually dependent terms is certainly not unique to Buddhism, even if the terminology is. Chuang-tzu seemed to be articulating the same insight into the relative nature of all conceptual construction in the following passage from chapter 2, Ch'i-wu lun:

> Everything has its "that," everything has its "this." From the point of view of "that" you cannot see it, but through understanding you can known it. So I say, "that" comes out of "this" and "this" depends on "that" -- which is to say that "this" and "that" give birth to each other. . . . Therefore the sage does not

> proceed in such a way, but illuminates all in the light of Heaven. He too recognizes a "this," but a "this" which is also "that," a "that" which is also "this." (trans. Watson 1968: 39-40)

Chuang-tzu's playful excursion into the contingency of linguistic representation is but one literary device he employs to illuminate the freedom of sagehood. Chuang-tzu's language may be evocative, but it falls short of providing a rhetorical method or dialectical strategy. For Chuang-tzu, opposing terms efface each other, but rarely do we see the kind of dialectical spiraling characteristic of Nâgârjuna or, in a very different context, Hegel. At times Chuang-tzu appears to initiate such a movement, as in the Ch'i-wu lun where he says: "Words are not just wind. Words have something to say. But if what they have to say is not fixed, then do they really say something? Or do they say nothing?" (trans. Watson 1968: 39). But things never progress too far before his "goblet words" (chih-yen 卮言), having been filled to the brim, topple over and spill out their contents leaving us back where we began.[84]

The Kârikâs, on the other hand, equip the exegete with a rhetorical weapon designed to be effective against any and all philosophical or metaphysical claims. The logic of the Mâdhyamika position commits one to continual movement. The ch'ung-hsüan authors take on the challenge, and venture beyond Chuang-tzu in their dialectical iconoclasm. Even the distinction between the common man and the sage, central to most Han and post-Han Taoist exegesis, is subject to the ch'ung-hsüan version of Mâdhyamika refutation.

The nature of sagehood is espoused in hsüan-hsüeh thought through the distinction between "root" (pen 本) and "traces" (chi 迹). Kuo Hsiang's commentary on the Chuang-tzu depicts the sage as one who,

> by means of his supernatural wisdom is able to act in accordance with the fen 分 of all beings, which implies that he himself stands above all their differences. . . . This impassive, transcendent unity with "Heaven" or with "Nature" is denoted by the term ming 冥 "obscured, effaced." Since the Sage (ruler) is

> free from all discursive reasoning, his activities are not conscious attempts to improve the world, but reflexes 應, automatical responses to the stimuli 感 which reach him. . . . Hence he remains unaffected by his own apparent activities, which are called his "traces" chi 迹, the ever-changing outward manifestations of his inner nature which is "that by which the traces (are made)" so-i chi 所以迹.[85]

But Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's commentary to the Tao-te ching asserts that: "The trace is identical with the root" (chüan 3, 22b); and "The root and the trace are equally transcendent 妙" (chüan 4, 36b).[86] This identification of root and trace, sage and man, is a reflection of the central Chinese Mahâyâna doctrine of the identity of the Buddha and the common man. The Fo-hsing lun 佛性論, for example, states:

> By pervasiveness [of Buddha nature] is meant that there is no differentiation between the ordinary person, the sage 聖人 and the Buddha. Of the three classes [of sentient beings], the first class (i.e., ordinary person) is perversely deluded; the second class (i.e., the sage) follows the holy path without faults; and the third class (i.e., Buddha) is ultimately pure in the four virtues. Nevertheless, these three classes are equal and interrelated because of the principle of pervasiveness [of Buddha nature]. Just as the empty space in the silver or gold container is pervasive, equal and non-discriminative, so is the dharma-body of the Tathâgata in the three realms [of beings].[87]

In another example of ch'ung-hsüan use of Buddhist technical terminology, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying explains the terms tao 道 and te 德 in terms of the distinction between the object of knowledge (ching 境) and the knowledge of that object (chih 智).

> The Tao is the etherial object, perfect and universal. Virtue is the knowledge of the sage which is perfect forgetting. Without the object there would be nothing to awaken knowledge. Without knowledge there would be nothing with which to illuminate the object. The object and the knowledge [of it] are conjoined, and therefore we call them "Tao and Virtue." Therefore the knowledge of the object and the object of knowledge are neither the same nor different, and yet are both the same and different. 非境無以導智 非智無以照境 境智相會故稱道德 然境智智境 不一不異 而異而一.[88]

This distinction has its origins in Chinese Buddhist epistemology. Seng-chao, in his essay "Prajñâ Has No Knowing" (Pan-jo wu chih-lun 般若

無知論), after quoting the <u>Fang-kuang</u> <u>pan-jo</u> <u>ching</u> 放光般若經,[89] says:

> The knowing 知 and the known 所知 exist conjointly and inexist conjointly. Because they inexist conjointly, no thing is existent. Because they exist conjointly, no thing is inexistent. Because no thing is inexistent, [knowing] is aroused by its object 緣. Because no thing is existent, [knowledge] is not something that objects can arouse.[90]

The key terms in Seng-chao's discussion of the co-dependence of the known and the knowing of it are the terms <u>yüan</u> 緣 and <u>chih</u> 知. Although the thought of Seng-chao was clearly influential in the development of literary Taoism of the <u>ch'ung-hsüan</u> variety, the terminology we find in <u>ch'ung-hsüan</u> texts is more likely directly influenced by the work of the San-lun exegete Chi-tsang. The <u>Ta-ch'eng</u> <u>hsüan</u> <u>lun</u> 大乘玄論 contains a section entitled "a discussion of the object and knowledge [of the object]" (<u>lun</u> <u>ching-chih-men</u> 論境智門), which concerns the co-dependence of an object of consciousness (<u>ching</u> 境), and the consciousness of that object (<u>chih</u> 智). The discussion begins:

> Knowledge does not arise in isolation, but emerges from the object. Therefore the object is the foundation of knowledge. But the object does not stand alone, rather it assumes its name in dependence upon knowledge. Therefore knowledge is the foundation of the object. Therefore, without the object there is nothing with which to bring forth knowledge, and without knowledge there is nothing with which to illuminate the object 故智爲境本 是以 非境無以發智 非智無以照境. . . . One cannot say the object comes first and knowledge follows, nor can one say that knowledge comes first and the object follows. Nor are they simultaneous. One can only talk of the interdependence of the object and knowledge. (T.1853: 45.55b3-56c)

Chi-tsang's text clearly influenced the rhetoric of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (compare the 非境無以導智 非智無以照境 of the former with the 非境無以發智 非智無以照境 of the latter). And again, section 27 of the <u>Tao-chiao</u> <u>i-shu</u> is entitled "The Meaning of the Object and Knowledge" (<u>Ching</u> <u>chih</u> <u>i</u> 境智義, HY.1121, f.762-763: 8.2b-4a) in which we read: "Inner and outer are not two, the object and knowledge are not distinct; not distinct and yet distinct, not two and yet two 内外不二 境智無殊 不殊而殊 不二而二" (8.3a5-6). The same distinction is wielded by T'ang Buddhist

exegetes like Fa-tsang, as well as by Taoists such as the T'ang Shang-ch'ing master Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen 司馬承禎 (647-735).[91]

We have mentioned but a few of the examples of wholesale borrowing from Buddhist sources characteristic of ch'ung-hsüan Taoist texts. The following list of terms illustrates just how pervasive the borrowing was. The list is comprised entirely from headings of sections of the Tao-chiao i-shu, though these terms are, for the most part, ubiquitous in ch'ung-hsüan materials:

1. The term "three vehicles" (san-ch'eng 三乘) was the title of section 18 of the Tao-chiao i-shu, (san-ch'eng i 三乘義) though the section is now lost. The term is borrowed from the Buddhist triyâna, and appears in the writings of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, where it refers to the differing receptive capacities among persons. The man of the Great Vehicle embodies the Truth in the tainted world, as opposed to those of the lesser vehicle who seek a private tranquility in mountain retreats. This is clearly the Taoist appropriation of the bodhisattva ideal of enlightenment within the world, in contrast to an earlier Taoist ideal of retreat to nature. Tu Kuang-t'ing distinguishes between small and great vehicle in terms of whether the man seeks salvation for the world or for himself, thus adopting the ideal of the compassionate bodhisattva (Robinet 1977: 144-145). The term also occurs in the Tso-wang lun 坐忘論 by Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen (HY.1030, f.704: 13b). Livia Kohn understands the Tso-wang lun passage as referring to the three major schools of Taoism, i.e., the Shang-ch'ing, Ling-pao, and San-huang schools (1987b: 107).

2. The "Three treasures" (san-pao 三寶) are the subject of section 3 of the Tao-chiao i-shu (san-pao i 三寶義, 1.8a-12b), where they are explained as the "Treasure of the Tao" (tao-pao 道寶), the "Treasure of the T'ai-shang Scriptures" (T'ai-shang-ching pao 太上經寶), and the "Treasure of the Great Teachers of the Law" (Ta-fa-

shih pao 大法師寶), which is somewhat removed from the Buddhist triratna of Buddha, dharma, and saṃgha.

3. The "Nature of the Tao," or "Tao-nature" (tao-hsing 道性) functions in T'ang Taoist texts in a manner precisely analogous to the "Buddha-nature" (fo-hsing 佛性) of the Buddhists. The Tao-chiao i-shu section on Tao-nature (Tao-hsing i 道性義, section 29, 8.5a-7b), says: "sentient beings are all naturally one with the Tao-nature 道性衆生皆與自然同也" (8.5a5-6). The Tao-nature is neither born nor does it pass away, neither existent nor non-existent, but it is that which makes the realization of the Tao possible. "When there is manifestation [of the Tao] it is spoken of as the fruit of the Tao 道果, and when it is hidden it is called Tao-nature. The pure, empty and spontaneous Tao-nature is embodied in all conscious beings, and even all animals, plants, trees and rocks possess this Tao-nature" (8.6b1-3).

4. The "Law-body" (fa-shen 法身) is borrowed from the Buddhist dharmakâya, and is typical of Taoist borrowing in that it is used far more loosely than its counterpart in Buddhist scriptures. In the Tao-chiao i-shu (section 2, 1.3a-8a), the Law-body is explained as that fundamental principle upon which all is modeled (the meaning of fa), and is also used to refer to the Taoist deity, the Heavenly Venerable (t'ien-tsun 天尊). The Law-body is divided into two, the Fundamental-body (pen-shen 本身) and the Trace-body (chi-shen 跡身). The Fundamental-body is that which gives birth to the myriad things, and the forms created by the Fundamental-body are the Trace-body. The Fundamental-body and Trace-body can in turn be divided in three bodies each. The three Fundamental-bodies consist of:

   a. The Tao-body (tao-shen 道身), which is another name for the True Tao, free from birth and death.

   b. The Truth-body (chen-shen 眞身) which is pure and without obstructions.

c. The Retribution-body (pao-shen 報身) which is a recompense body, received as a result of activity from countless past existences. This term is derived from the Buddhist term sambhogakâya -- the body of ease and bliss enjoyed by Buddhas as the fruit of their practice.

The three Trace-bodies consist of:

a. The Response-body (ying-shen 應身) which, "being devoid of a mind of its own, responds to all beings 以無心而應衆生" (1.4a9-10). The Tao-chiao i-shu quotes the Pen-chi ching as follows: "Resonating with the fundamental nature of things it assumes form and structure, and is therefore called the response-body 本際經云應物根性示色象故名應身" (1.4a10). The relationship of the Chinese "response body" to Indian Buddhist conceptions of the nirmâṇakâya and saṃbhogakâya is a complex issue, and I will argue below that the ying-shen idea incorporates native Chinese notions of sagehood and "sympathetic response" (see the extended discussion in chapter 3 section J of this study).

b. The Divided-body (fen-shen 分身) refers to the capacity of the Law-body to create innumerable manifestations which can appear simultaneously in a myriad locations.

c. The Transformation-body (hua-shen 化身) refers to the unending transformations of the Law-body, or T'ien-tsun, which can take on the form of any being in the six realms of existence (liu-tao 六道), in accordance with whatever is most efficatious.

5. The "Five Aggregates" (wu-yin 五陰) are the subject of section 12 of the Tao-chiao i-shu (4.1a6-4a5). This term is derived from the Chinese translation of the somewhat technical Sanskrit term skandha, or "aggregates." In the Tao-chiao i-shu they are listed as "material form" (se 色), "consciousness" (shih 識), "perception" (hsiang 想), "mind" (hsin 心), and "activity" (hsing 行). These have been derived from the Buddhist terms rûpa (form),

vijñâna (consciousness), samjñâ (perception), vedanâ (feeling), and samskâra (impulses). The use of hsin or "mind," where one would expect the Buddhist shou 受, may indicate some confusion in the Taoist understanding of the five aggregate theory.

6. The "Pure Lands" (ching-t'u 淨土) are described in section 31 of the Tao-chiao i-shu (9.2a5-3a5), which are derived from the Buddhist Sukhâvatî of Amitâbha. In this Taoist scheme there are five Pure Lands:

   a. The Land of the Immortals (hsien-jen t'u 仙人土) which corresponds to the heaven of Great Clarity (t'ai-ch'ing 太清).
   b. The Land of the Perfected (chen-jen t'u 眞人土) which corresponds to the heaven of Highest Clarity (shang-ch'ing 上清).
   c. The Land of the Sages (sheng-jen t'u 聖人土) which corresponds to the heaven of Jade Clarity (yü-ch'ing 玉清).
   d. The Land of the Heavenly Venerable (t'ien-tsun t'u 天尊土).
   e. The Land of Sentient Beings (chung-sheng t'u 衆生土).

   At the end of the enumeration of the five Pure Lands the Tao-chiao i-shu cites a "Pure Land Sûtra" as follows: "When the three actions are pure the six faculties 根 are pure. When the six faculties are pure the realm is pure." The notion that one creates a Pure Land in this very world through the purification of one's own mind is a doctrine common to many T'ang Buddhist exegetes. Scriptural authority may be found in the Vimalakîrti (T.475: 14.338c): "To the exent that one's mind is pure, the Buddha-land is pure," and this passage from the Vimalakîrti is quoted in both the PiL (145c10-11), as well as the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi.[92]

The Tao-chiao i-shu also devotes sections to the discussion of the "Three activities" (san-ye 三業), derived from the Buddhist trikarma (the activities of body, speech and mind, section 14, 4.6b4-7a1); the "Ten Evils" (shih-o 十惡) derived from the Buddhist daśâkuśala (section

15, 4.7a2-8b7); the "Six Pervasions" (liu-t'ung 六通) derived from the Buddhist abhijñâ or six supernatural powers (section 19, now lost); the "Six Crossings" (liu-tu 六度) from the Buddhist six pâramitâ or perfections (section 21, now lost); the "Four Equanimities" (ssu-teng 四等) from the Buddhist brahmavihâra or four abodes of the Brahmas (section 22, now lost); and the "Field of Merit" (fu-t'ien 福田) from the Buddhist puṇyakṣetra (section 30, 9.1a7-2a4).

What are we to make of the fact that the vast majority of key terms in such purportedly Taoist works are unambiguously Buddhist in origin? Indeed, a Buddhist scholar, casually glancing through the Tao-chiao i-shu, the Pen-chi ching, or the works of Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, might well conclude that they are actually works by nascent Chinese Buddhists whose familiarity with technical scholastic Buddhism leaves something to be desired. Similarly, a Taoist scholar unfamiliar with the traditions surrounding the PTL could be forgiven if he mistook parts of it for the work of a Taoist with Buddhist leanings. Perhaps works such as the PTL and the Tao-chiao i-shu should be classified and analyzed under the rubric of "syncretism," i.e., as works more or less intentionally designed to blend Buddhism and Taoism into a palatable whole, acceptable to T'ang literati in general, and the court elite in particular. It is not possible, however, to settle this issue without first clarifying our use of the labels "Taoism," "Buddhism," and "syncretism." This will be our task in the following chapter. But first we will return briefly to the relationship between ch'ung-hsüan Taoism and the PTL.

K. The Pao-tsang lun and T'ang "Gentry Taoism"

The PTL is replete with terms and turns of phrase characteristic of ch'ung-hsüan scriptures and commentarial writings. Most striking are two references to the "mystery of mysteries" (hsüan-hsüan, 144a1 and 145b24), from which the term ch'ung-hsüan is derived. However, we have

already seen that this fact is, in itself, of little significance: reference to both the "mystery of mysteries" and the "twofold mystery" can be found in a broad spectrum of Chinese Buddhist texts. More to the point are two technical terms which play a central role in the third chapter of the *PTL*: "point of genesis" (*pen-chi* 本際), and "True One" (*chen-i* 眞一). Indeed, the concluding section of the *PTL* proclaims that the entire treatise was written solely to bring about an understanding of this "True One" (150a3-5). My commentary to the translation will show that the "True One" and the "point of genesis" were both cardinal terms in a number of T'ang works closely associated with the *ch'ung-hsüan* tradition.

The most obvious similarity between the *PTL* and the works by so-called "twofold mystery" authors, however, is a shared interest in the *Tao-te ching*. The *PTL* alludes repeatedly and unmistakably to this venerable Taoist classic through the use of conspicuous terms, phrases, and direct quotations. The tone of the treatise is established in the very opening passage, written in imitation of the first lines of the *Tao-te ching*: "Emptiness that can be deemed empty -- it is not true emptiness. Form that can be deemed form -- it is not true form." The *PTL* goes on to refer to the "great schemata" (*ta-hsiang* 大象), the "nameless unwrought substance" (*wu-ming chih p'o* 無名之朴), the "solitary hub" (*ku-ku* 孤轂), "nothingness" (*wu-wu* 無物), and the "Sublime Mother" (*hsüan p'in* 玄牝) -- all terms which hearken back to the *Tao-te ching*. Moreover, the *Tao-te ching* is the source for much of the cosmological speculation and "return-to-the-source" ideology which is a preoccupation of chapter 3 of the *PTL*. The cosmological meanderings in chapter 3 begin, in fact, with a quotation from *Tao-te ching* 42, perhaps the single most influential source for all later Taoist cosmologies: "The Tao initially begets One. . . . One begets two. . . . Two begets the *yin* and the *yang*" (148a4-6). Finally, I would mention the long dialectical discussion concerning "subtlety" (*wei* 微), and "transcendence" (*li* 離), found in the second chapter of the *PTL*. The

metaphysical significance of "subtlety" is clearly derived, as we shall see, from its use in the Tao-te ching.

The fact that the PTL, like so many ch'ung-hsüan literary products, takes its inspiration from the Tao-te ching, no doubt reflects the popularity of Lao-tzu's classic in eighth-century China. This popularity was, in turn, largely due to a concerted effort on the part of the court to foster Taoism as the legitimizing ideology of the dynasty. A succession of early T'ang rulers advanced the cause of Taoism in general, and Lao-tzu in particular, in order to enhance the prestige and legitimacy of the ruling Li family, who traced their lineal descent back to Lao-tzu himself.[93] But while earlier T'ang rulers exercised a politically prudent measure of caution in their patronage of the Taoist church, Hsüan-tsung was relatively unrestrained in his overtly partisan support of Taoist interests. Hsüan-tsung's reign was marked by a mounting preoccupation at court with Taoist concerns, and, in keeping with the ideology of his reign, the emperor successfully fostered the study of the Tao-te ching among all strata of society.

The esteem in which the Tao-te ching was held by the court is evident throughout the historical records pertaining to Hsüan-tsung's reign. When the emperor first summoned the Shang-ch'ing patriarch Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen to court in 721, for example, the initial request made of the patriarch was that he make copies in three different scripts of the Tao-te ching. The three texts were then engraved on steles and erected in the Ching-lung Temple 景龍觀, in order that the text be preserved for posterity. Four years later the Tao-te ching was again engraved on a stele, this time in the emperor's own hand, and erected in Lao-tzu's temple in Po-chou 亳州 (Benn 1977: 88, 112).

Such activities may appear to be merely ceremonial gestures, but the same cannot be said of a succession of imperial edicts which gave the Tao-te ching a prominent place on the curriculum for the imperial

examinations. Such a policy did not, in fact, originate with Hsüan-tsung; the Tao-te ching had been a compulsory subject of study for the examinations since 678, and it remained so until 693 when it was removed by Empress Wu (r.684-705) in an effort to promote Buddhism and curb the growing power of the Taoists.[94] With the overthrow of the empress in 705, the Tao-te ching was again reinstated in the examination curriculum. However, Hsüan-tsung is responsible for progressively elevating the position of the Tao-te ching until it came to occupy a central place on the examination roster, and to dominate the course of study for aspiring officials.

In 719 the Tao-te ching figured in a controversy at court concerning the selection of commentaries to be used for examination purposes, with the result that the commentary by Wang Pi replaced that by Ho-Shang Kung 河上公.[95] Up until this time the Tao-te ching was still one classic among many, but this was soon to change:

> From 720 onwards the [Tao-te ching] and its author were to be singled out for increasing attention to stand eventually at the head of a whole new branch of state-sponsored scholarship and ritual. Thus in 730 we find imperially-sponsored lectures based on Lao-tzu's text taking place at court. In 732 two more copies of the Tao-te ching were engraved on stone, together with an entirely new commentary under Hsüan-tsung's name, whilst in 733 the emperor ordered that a copy of the classic should be kept in every home, and that in the examinations, questions on the Confucian Shang-shu and Lun-yü should be decreased to make way for questions on the Tao-te ching. Next, in 735, an official sub-commentary was promulgated also, again under the emperor's name. Then, again in 735, a priest named Ssu-ma Hsiu requested that the text with Hsüan-tsung's commentary should be engraved on stone at all places in the capital and elsewhere where Taoist rituals were performed on behalf of the state. Honors such as these had never been accorded any text, Buddhist, Taoist or Confucian, at any time in the past. (Barrett n.d.: 41-42)

In order to educate young scholars in the Taoist classics, the emperor founded the Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh 崇玄學 ("Academy of the Revered Mystery") in 741, and at the same time instituted the Tao-chü 道舉 ("Examination on Taoism"), in an attempt to establish a Taoist counter-

part to the system of imperially sponsored Confucian schools and examinations. The new Taoist academies were to be devoted primarily to a curriculum in Taoist classics, and Taoist scholars would be given precedence over their Confucian rivals in competition for certain government posts (Benn 1977: 255 ff.).

The Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh was not simply another imperial academy situated in the capital, but rather comprised an entire system of schools, with branches established in districts (chou 州) and subdistricts (hsien 縣) throughout the empire. According to the edict establishing the Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh:

> An equitable and harmonious figure for enrollment [in these schools] will be fixed within the statutory limits for local school enrollment. Students are directed to study the Tao-te ching, Chuang-tzu, Wen-tzu, and Lieh-tzu. After the course of study has been completed graduates will be sent to the Department of State Affairs in accordance with regulations governing the recommendation of local candidates for capital examination. (Benn 1977: 257)

In 742 the court took the step of removing questions pertaining to the Taoist classics from the ming-ching 明經 and chin-shih 進士 examinations. This move served to elevate the status and importance of the Ch'ung-hsüan academies and the Tao-chü examination in the T'ien-pao 天寶 era (742-756), since they were rendered the only avenue for those who wished to pursue a government career through a course of Taoist study. This did not, however, mean that the Tao-te ching could be ignored by students in Confucian schools. An edict issued by the court as early as 726, declaring that every household in the country was to own a copy of Lao-tzu's work, was still in force, and in the atmosphere which prevailed in the latter part of Hsüan-tsung's reign, aspiring scholars of whatever persuasion could not afford to neglect the Taoist classics (Benn 1977: 258-259; Twitchett ed. 1979: 411).

The final step in the exaltation of the Tao-te ching took place in 745, when the court decreed that it was to be ranked first among the

classics.[96] Yet this was merely one manifestation of the unbridled promotion of Taoism characteristic of Hsüan-tsung's later years. The emperor's zealous promotion of Taoism took a multitude of forms, including the building of Taoist temples, the sponsorship of Taoist ordinations, support for copying Taoist scriptures, the distribution of icons of Lao-tzu, and the promotion of the worship of Lao-tzu divinized. Finally, in 749, the court installed Lao-tzu as the supreme deity in the state cult: an imperial edict was issued which ordered statues of Confucius in the T'ai-ch'ing kung 太清宮 in Ch'ang-an, and the T'ai-wei kung 太微宮 in Lo-yang, to be placed in front of the statues of Lao-tzu, a position subordinating Confucius to his "master" Lao-tzu (Benn 1977: 277).

There is no doubt that as a result of this unprecedented patronage, Taoist scholars advanced rapidly in schools and academies, and were elevated to government positions of some importance. Consequently, much of the Taoist scholarship of the first half of the T'ang was produced not by the ordained priesthood or by Taoist recluses, but rather by the gentrified class of scholar-officials working at court:

> Of the seventy works on the Tao-te ching, Chuang Tzu, and Lieh Tzu, known to have been written by authors living in the period from the founding of the T'ang through Hsüan-tsung's reign, thirty-nine were authored by twenty-five officials. This group included two chief ministers, two imperial secretaries, and sixteen officials who held teaching or academic posts (eleven of the latter served in Hsüan-tsung's administration). Statutes which required students in public schools to learn the Tao-te ching and examination candidates to answer questions on it undoubtedly contributed to stimulating interest in the texts of Hsüan-hsüeh among intellectuals and that, in turn, led to deeper study and annotations of the works. (Benn 1977: 125)

Imperial interests clearly lay in promoting Taoism not so much as an arcane ritual tradition -- devoted to inner alchemy, gymnastics, and occult mysteries -- but rather as an intellectual alternative to Buddhism and Confucianism. And government efforts met with considerable success in the creation of a "spiritualized gentry Taoism." Ssu-ma

Ch'eng-chen might be considered a major figure in this development, as many of his more popular tracts, including the famous Tso-wang lun 坐忘論, seem to be intended for a general literati audience rather than for the Taoist clergy.[97] And it is in the context of such a T'ang gentry Taoism that we can better understand the "nondenominational" style of Taoist exegesis, laden with Buddhist borrowings, which we have subsumed under the heading ch'ung-hsüan. The scriptures and commentaries associated with ch'ung-hsüan Taoism would have been particularly attractive to the scholar-officials at court, who, when contemplating the transcendental mysteries, preferred the comfort of their elegantly appointed studies to the harsh environment of a mountain retreat.

With the death of Hsüan-tsung, support for Taoism continued, but not at the lavish levels known previously. Su-tsung 肅宗 (r.756-762) followed the policies of his predecessor in leaning toward Taoism, although the following emperor, Tai-tsung 代宗 (r.762-779) favored Buddhism, and Te-tsung 德宗 (r.779-805), perhaps learning from the mistakes of his predecessors, was generally reluctant to support either. The Tao-te ching was placed on the regular examination curriculum once again in 785, only to be removed in 796, this time because the emperor supposedly agreed with a suggestion that such a sacrosanct text should not play a role in the relatively mundane business of the examination curriculum (Barrett n.d.: 60). This restrained support for Taoism continued into the following century.

From this brief historical overview we learn two important facts concerning the period in which the PTL was composed: (1) the Tao-te ching was widely disseminated, and played an important part in the academic curriculum for scholar-officials; and (2) with the active support of the court, a nondenominational literary and gentrified Taoism emerged to rival court Confucianism and gentry Buddhism.

What does this tell us about the PTL? Given the fact that we know virtually nothing about the identity of the text's author, we can only

speculate. If the ch'ung-hsüan materials and the works of Taoists like Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen represent a concerted, if not self-conscious, attempt to forge a "gentry Taoism" which could compete with Buddhism, then our text might represent a Buddhist response. Rather than arguing the superiority of the Buddhist path, or Buddhist doctrine, the PTL appropriates the rhetoric of the Taoist classics, particularly the Tao-te ching, into a Chinese Buddhist discourse, declaring that all such doctrines point to a single truth. It would be a mistake, however, to characterize the result as a species of Buddho-Taoist syncretism. The truth to which the Taoist terminology points is, according to the PTL, a Buddhist truth! But while the appropriation of Taoist rhetoric may have furthered the cause of Buddhism among literati in the T'ang, it would also have put a Taoist "spin" on a Buddhist message. There is little doubt that the large-scale incorporation of Taoist material into T'ang Buddhist treatises such as the Hsin-hsin ming, the Chüeh-kuan lun, the numerous short works attributed to Bodhidharma, and the PTL, would have facilitated the ideological developments which culminated in the full-blown Ch'an of the following era. As has often been noted, the characteristically Ch'an doctrines of "not relying on words and letters," "direct pointing," "seeing original nature," and "sudden awakening," all have Taoist antecedents, and might be viewed as resulting from the Taoist "contamination" of Chinese Mahâyâna Buddhism. This brings us once again to the complex issue of syncretism -- the manner in which diverse religious traditions mutually influence and transform one another. It is to this issue that we will now turn our attention.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. T.1857: 45.143b-150a. Full textual information will be found in the introduction to the translation in part 2 of this study.

2. The dates given here for Seng-chao, which conflict with the traditional dates of 383-414, have been suggested by Tsukamoto (1954, and 1955: 120-121).

3. The most comprehensive contemporary study of Seng-chao's life and thought is found in the translation and study of the Chao-lun by Tsukamoto et al. in Tsukamoto ed. 1955. See also T'ang Yung-t'ung 1955: 328-339; Fung Yu-lan 1953: 258-270; Liebenthal 1968; Robinson 1976: 123-155; and Demiéville's review of Tsukamoto (Demiéville 1957).

4. The biography of Seng-chao is found in the Kao-seng chuan T.2059: 50.365a9-366a29, see Liebenthal 1968: 6-7 for an English translation. The other two early biographies on Seng-chao are found in the Wei shu, chüan 114, 20.75 (Ware 1933: 131; Hurvitz 1956: 54); and the Li-tai san-pao chi 歷代三寶記, T.2034: 49.80-81a, but they add little to the Kao-seng chuan account. These biographical notices exhibit all of the usual features associated with medieval Buddhist hagiographies (i.e., the claim that Seng-chao mastered at an early age the entire Buddhist canon), and thus must be treated with caution.

5. For these dates see Tsukamoto 1954.

6. T.2003: 48.193c27-194a7; translation follows Cleary and Cleary (1977: 2.400-401) with some changes. Cf. the Japanese translation in Nishitani and Yanagida eds. 1974: 281-282. The "case" and anecdote are repeated with some embellishments in the Wan-sung lao-jen p'ing-ch'ang t'ien-t'ung chüeh ho-shang sung-ku ts'ung-jung-an lu 萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古從容庵錄 published in 1224 (T.2004: 48.286c16-287a5).

7. The citation is found in chüan 67 of the T'ung-chih 通志 (dated 1161) by Cheng Ch'iao 鄭樵 (1104-1162). The PTL is also listed in the Sung-shih i-wen chih 宋史藝文志 dated 1345 (T'ang 1955: 332; Makita 1955: 274). Piet van der Loon's index of Taoist works found in Sung bibliographies includes four citations of a Pao-tsang lun. Two of them appear under the title Pao-tsang lun in one chüan 寶藏論一卷 compiled by Ch'ing Hsia-tzu 青霞子 (see the Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu 崇文總目, compiled in 1042, 10.1b; and the Sung-shih i-wen chih mentioned above, 4.16a). I was unable to locate any biographical data on Ch'ing Hsia-tzu. A work titled Lu-huo pao-tsang lun in three fascicles 爐火寶藏論三卷 is listed in the Pi-shu sheng hsü-pien-tao ssu-k'u ch'üeh-shu-mu 秘書省續編到四庫闕書目, a catalogue of lost works compiled in 1145 (2.39a), and this is no doubt the same as the work in two fascicles listed under the title Lu-huo pao-tsang lun 爐火寶藏論二卷 in the Tao-tsang ch'üeh-ching mu-lu 道藏闕經目

錄, 2.12a (Loon 1984: 166). It is unclear whether these titles refer to the same text, and if they are in fact the same work as that attributed to Seng-chao.

8. T'ang 1955: 332. This edition is apparently now lost. Huai-hui's biography can be found in the Tsu-t'ang chi 祖堂集 (4.69-71); the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄 7 (T.2076: 51.252b-c); and the Sung kao-seng chuan 宋高僧傳 10 (T.2061: 50.767c-768a). The biographies give no indication of his literary activities.

9. Nihon biku enchin nittô guhô mokuroku 日本比丘圓珍入唐求法目錄, T.2172: 55.1100c12. Because no author is given for the PTL, Mizuno conjectures that the PTL was not associated with Seng-chao until the eleventh-century when it appears in a Korean catalogue of 1090 with the name Seng-chao clearly attached (Mizuno 1961a: 22). But, as we shall see, there is ample evidence to the contrary.

10. The manuscript is cited in the Taishô as the Otanidaigakuzô shahon 大谷大學藏寫本, T.2183: 55.1163 n.23.

11. Hsin-pien chu-tsung chiao-tsang tsung-lu 新編諸宗教藏總錄, T.2184: 55.1177c2.

12. T.2015: 48.405a21-23. The quote is found in the PTL 144a22. Sections in parentheses are interlinear comments in the extant edition of the "Ch'an Preface."

13. T.1795: 39.533b18-19. The quote is also found in Tsung-mi's Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu 圓覺經大疏, ZZ.14.133b3-4.

14. ZZ.14.209a13-14: Chou-kung said: "Guard the truth and embrace the One, without being tainted by external things. The Great Unity -- clear and void -- how could it be lost?" This is taken from the PTL 145a27-28.

15. Fo-shuo fa-chü ching 佛說法句經, S.2021; T.2901: 85.1434b-1435c; see also the commentary to the text: P.2325; T.2902: 85.1435c-1445a. The text never seems to have been brought to Japan, and it was lost in China until its discovery at Tun-huang. It was long considered spurious in China, and is listed as such in a number of catalogues, including the Ta-t'ang nei-tien lu 大唐內典錄 where it is included with other wei ching lun 僞經論 ("spurious scriptures," T.2149: 55.335c23). This is the earliest mention of the text establishing a terminus a quo of 664. (See also the K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu 開元釋教錄, T.2154: 55.677a6, compiled in 730.) Nevertheless, quotations are found in a variety of Ch'an related texts dating from the late seventh to the tenth century. Mizuno speculates that the text was composed between 650 and 655. See Mizuno 1961a; 1961b; and Tanaka 1983.

16. See the Fa-chü ching T.2902: 85.1435a23. The phrase is cited in the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi 楞伽師資記 (T.2837: 85.1283a28-29), the Li-tai

fa-pao chi 歷代法寶記 (T.2075: 51.193a12), the Ma-tsu yü-lu 馬祖語録 (Iriya 1984: 19 and 193), the Tun-wu ju-tao yao-men lun 頓悟入道要門論 (Hirano 1970: 92), and so on.

17. Variant dates for Ch'eng-kuan's death are 820 and 839 (Kamata 1965: 167-168).

18. One interesting exception is a four-character phrase in the PTL (147c16) which may be quoting Hsüan-tsang's translation of the Heart Sûtra. See the commentary to chapter 2 of the translation.

19. The Chao-lun shu 肇論疏, ZZ.150.413a-444d. Hui-ta is believed to have flourished under the Ch'en 陳 dynasty (557-589), though little biographical information survives other than some remarks in the introduction to Yüan-k'ang's commentary to the Chao-lun, T.1859: 45.161c18 ff. See also Makita 1955: 276-277; and Liebenthal 1968: 11-12.

20. The Chao-lun shu 肇論疏, T.1859: 45.161c-200c; ZZ.96.42c-86d. See Makita 1955: 277, and Liebenthal 1968: 12-13.

21. The Chao-lun ch'ao 肇論抄. For a list of additional commentaries to the Chao-lun, now lost, which date to the T'ang see Makita 1955: 282-283.

22. The Chao-lun ch'ao is the first text listed in the Nihon kokujô wagonen nittôguhô mokuroku 日本國承和五年入唐求法目録, T.2165: 55.1075a10-13. See also the Jikakudaishi zaitô sôshinroku 慈覺大師在唐送進録, T.2166: 55.1077b10-13, and the discussion in Makita 1955: 281, and Liebenthal 1968: 13.

23. See the discussion in Kamata 1965: 323-358 and passim.

24. St. 2224, St. 2499, T.2880: 85.1368b-1380b. Only the second, third and fourth chüan of this syncretic text survive. The original name of this text was the Wan-wu wu-ch'ien ching 萬物無遷經 (compare with the title of Seng-chao's essay: "Wu pu-ch'ien lun 物不遷論"), and the influence of the Chao-lun is evident throughout (Kamata 1964 and 1965: 336).

25. See Kamata 1965: 336. According to Kamata his influence can be seen in the commentaries by Ching-ying Hui-yüan 淨影慧遠 (T.1776), T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (T.1777; T.1778), Chi-tsang (T.1780; T.1781), as well as the commentary to Hsüan-tsang's new translation by K'uei-chi 窺基 of the Fa-hsiang 法相 school (T.1782). In addition, the introduction to the Vimalakîti commentary by Tao-i 道液 found at Tun-huang (extant in various mss., see T.2777: 85, and T.2778: 85) explicitly claims to be based upon Seng-chao's work (T.2777: 85.440a25).

26. The first, Shih-chao hsü 釋肇序 (S.3496, T.2776: 85.438a-440a), can be dated to 766-779. The second, Shih-chao tuan-hsü-ch'ao-i 釋肇斷序抄義, is part of the Wei-mo shu shih ch'ien hsiao hsü ch'ao 維摩疏釋前小序

抄 (P.2149, S.1347, T.2775: 85.436c-437c), and is dated to 766. This latter text quotes the Chao-lun twice, demonstrating Seng-chao's stature at least in the mind of the author. Seng-chao's preface itself survives in the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi (T.2145: 55.58a-b).

27. Such clues are scattered throughout the Mahâyâna corpus itself. The Lankâ was preached while the Buddha was in residence in the Castle of Lankâ, which places its origins in mythological rather than historical space-time. The second chapter of the Lotus Sûtra tells of five thousand monks, nuns, and laypersons, who rudely exit before the preaching of the Lotus, an indirect acknowledgment that the text was previously unavailable to the followers of the Hînayâna represented by the five thousand (T.262: 9.7a). And Buston records the legend that Nâgârjuna received the Śatasâhasrikâ-Prajñâpâramitâ from the abode of the Nâgas (Obermiller 1986: 124). In fully expanded versions of this latter story, the Mahâyâna sûtras, after being compiled by the great Bodhisattvas on Mount Vimalasvabhâva, were kept hidden by the Devas, Nâgas and Gandharvas. Five hundred years after the death of the Buddha, they were discovered by Nâgârjuna in the palace of the Nâgas (Lamotte 1976: lxxxviii). Finally, the Ta chih tu lun 大智度論 asserts that it is simply mistaken to associate the Buddha-dharma with the words of Śâkyamuni: "The Buddha-dharma is not limited to the words spoken by the Buddha; all true and good words, subtle and pleasant words in the world are part of the Buddha-dharma" 佛法非但佛口說者 是一切世間眞實善語 微妙好語 皆出佛法中 (T.1509: 25.66b2-3, cited in Swanson 1989: 42).

28. For more on the issue of Buddhist apocrypha and scriptural authority in China see the discussions in Buswell 1990; Swanson 1989: 41-42; and Tokuno 1990. Buswell notes that, in the case of Chinese compositions attributed to the Buddha, "these ascriptions are more a literary device to enhance the prestige and solemnity of the work than an attempt at deception" (Buswell 1990: 5).

29. This text survives in six manuscripts recovered from Tun-huang: P.2732, P.2074, P.2885, P.2045, Peking Jun-84, and a manuscript in the collection of Ishii Mitsuo 石井積翠. Some of the manuscripts specify Bodhidharma as the author, although this attribution has been thoroughly refuted by Sekiguchi, Yanagida and others (see below). For an overview of the various Japanese editions and studies of this text see McRae 1983: 173-175. The most complete edition is that of Tokiwa and Yanagida (1976), which includes the photo-reproduction of all extant Tun-huang manuscripts, a critical edition, and translations into modern Japanese and English. Citations below will follow the critical edition found in Tokiwa and Yanagida (1976: 87-102), using their divisions into chapter and section.

30. See Sekiguchi 1957: 82-185. Sekiguchi published extensively on both the Chüeh-kuan lun and the Ox-head school; see especially 1964: 240-402, and 1967: 321-331, 344-356. Other major studies include Yanagida 1970, and McRae 1983.

31. The mountain is located in modern day Chiang-ning hsien, Kiang-su, not far from Nan-ching.

32. McRae 1983: 179-180.

33. See Foulk 1987: 31-33 for a discussion of the term tsung 宗, and the meaning of "Ch'an lineages."

34. See Sekiguchi 1964: 328-335; and McRae 1983: 182-185.

35. See Sekiguchi 1964: 339-346; and McRae 1983: 191-195.

36. See Yanagida 1967: 195-209. Yanagida has since expressed reservations concerning this earlier theory. The Platform Sûtra is thought to have been written around the year 780.

37. The working understanding of kuan or "discernment" is a function of soteriological theory in general, and the exegesis of prajñâ or "wisdom" in particular. According to Chi-tsang, the difference between the Sk. term prajñâ and the Chinese native term chih-hui 智慧 "is that the latter involves the perception of objects. True prajñâ, on the other hand, is beyond all types of discrimination, and is thus without any specific object. Wisdom is thus the understanding of the superficial veneer of phenomenal reality, while prajñâ reaches the ultimate truth of śûnyatâ and is entirely beyond all phenomenal distinctions" (McRae 1983: 210).

38. S.4037, S.5692, P.2104, and P.4638. See also the Hsin-hsin ming published as T.2010: 48, which represents a later edition.

39. See especially the Japanese translation by Omori Sôgen 大森曹玄 in Nishitani and Yanagida eds. 1972: 105-112; and the translation in Kajitani et al. 1974: 2-29. Among the numerous English translations see especially those by D. T. Suzuki (1960: 76-82); Richard Clarke (1984); and Sheng-Yen (1987: 23-29).

40. See ZZ.119.411a-d; and Yanagida 1967: 266 n.17.

41. On the Hsin ming see Kuno 1939; and Mizuno et al. 1977: 206.

42. That hsüan is verbal is clear both because yu 又 is adverbial and chih 之 functions as a direct object (Boodberg 1979: 478-479), and it is taken as such by the Chinese commentarial tradition with which we will deal below. This is particularly difficult to render into English (Boodberg suggests "mysterize") -- perhaps "transcend it and again transcend [the transcending]" would best capture the sense given to it by ch'ung-hsüan authors. But I prefer to reserve "transcend" for li 離, a central term in the dialectics of the PTL, and "mystery" has become a somewhat standard English gloss for hsüan in the Tao-te ching.

43. On Tu Kuang-t'ing see especially the recent study by Verellen 1989.

44. The character li 理 often replaces chih 治 in T'ang texts.

45. See Robinet 1977: 99-100. For his connection with the so-called T'ai-hsüan p'ai 太玄派 see Sunayama 1980a: 39-40. On the "three ones" see the commentary to chapter 1 of the translation in part 2 of this study.

46. See Robinet 1977: 100-102. According to Sunayama he is also associated with the T'ai-hsüan p'ai 太玄派 (1980a: 40).

47. See the Chen cheng lun 甄正論, T.2112: 52.569c9-15.

48. On the debates between the three teachings during the T'ang see Lo Hsiang-lin 1954.

49. On Liu Chin-hsi see Wu 1960: 11-12; Robinet 1977: 102-103; and Kohn 1989c: 239.

50. On Ch'eng Hsüan-ying see especially Fujiwara 1980b, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c; Sunayama 1980b: 125-127; Pelliot 1913: 386-388; Robinet 1977: 104; and Kohn 1989c: 241-242.

51. Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng 集古今佛道論衡, T.2104: 52.386b-c; and Pelliot 1913.

52. The Tao-te ching commentary has been reconstructed from Tun-huang manscripts (S.5887, P.2517, P.2353) by Yen Ling-feng (Yen 1983: 239-728). The introduction to the commentary, Tao-te ching chieh t'i hsü-chüeh i-shu 道德經解題序訣義疏 (P.2353), of which both beginning and end are missing, has been edited by Yoshioka (1970: 110-115) and again by Robinet (1977: 319 ff.). A French translation can be found in Robinet (1977: 227-260). For further textual details see Robinet 1977: 220-226.

53. See Pelliot 1913: 386, and Robinet 1977: 104-105.

54. T.2104: 52.386c17-19; cf. the French translation in Pelliot 1913: 391.

55. On Li Jung see Fujiwara 1985; Sunayama 1980a; Robinet 1977: 105-106; and Kohn 1989c: 242.

56. Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng 集古今佛道論衡, T.2104: 52.387a-394a.

57. T.2104: 52.389c28-390a11. The term pen-chi will be discussed in detail in the introduction to the translation of chapter 3 of the PTL, entitled "The Emptiness and Mystery of the Point of Genesis."

58. Editions of Li Jung's commentaries to the Tao-te ching can be found in Yen 1983: 729-1019. On the Hsi-sheng ching commentary see Fujiwara 1985.

59. Robinet 1977: 107. For the Hai-k'ung ching see below.

60. The second fascicle appears in the Tao-tsang as the T'ai-hsüan chen-i pen-chi miao-ching 太玄眞一本際妙經 (HY.1103, f.758). The ninth fascicle is found as the T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao k'ai-yen pi-mi tsang-ching 太上洞玄靈寶開演祕密藏經 (HY.329, f.167). The Tun-huang texts have been published by Wu Chi-yu (1960). See also Kamata 1963a: 170-178; Kamata 1968a: 53-56; Nienhauser 1986: 142; Robinet 1977; and Ofuchi 1978: 36-45.

61. A complete list can be found in Wu 1960: 2-3. In addition to the eighty-one extant manuscripts there are two fragments from commentaries: P.3027 (a commentary on fascicle 2), and P.2361 (a commentary on fascicle 3). Complete mansucripts exist for only the second and third fascicles (P.2393, P.2795).

62. HY.1116, f.760. The full title in the Tao-tsang is Tung-hsüan ling-pao hsüan-men ta-i 洞玄靈寶玄門大義. See Sunayana 1980a: 34-35; Kamata 1968a: 173.

63. HY.1121, f.762-763. See Yoshioka 1970: 309-368; Kamata 1963a; Kamata 1968a: 67-74 and 173-211; Nienhauser 1986: 147-148. Kohn (1989c: 258-273) gives a chapter-by-chapter summary. Yoshioka believes the text to have been composed around the same time as Tao-hsüan's Kuang hung-ming chi 廣弘明集, i.e., 649, although some scholars date it towards the end of the seventh-century. See Kohn 1989c: 259 for a summary of Japanese scholars' attempts to date the text.

64. S.3380. According to Ofuchi 1978 this text is the same as the T'ai-shang ling-pao hsi-yü shen-hsin ching 太上靈寶洗浴身心經 and the Tung-hsüan ling-pao miao-pen ch'ing-ching mu-yü shen-hsin ching 洞玄靈寶妙本清浄沐浴身心經 which are now lost. See also Kohn 1989c: 255-257; and Ofuchi 1979a: 132.

65. Although attributed to Li Jung, it is a devotional and ritual text, and does not bear the marks of ch'ung-hsüan thought. This does not, however, exclude the possibility of Li Jung's authorship.

66. This text appears in the Tao-tsang as the T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao san-yüan yü ching hsüan tu ta hsien ching 太上洞玄靈寶三元玉京玄都大獻經 (HY.370, f.181). It was also found at Tun-huang (S.3061) with the title T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao chung-yüan yü ching hsüan tu ta hsien ching 太上洞玄靈寶中元玉京玄都大獻經. See Yoshioka 1976a: 237-243 for a discussion of the mansucript edition. See also Sunayama 1980a: 37.

67. The Tao-tsang title is T'ai-shang tz'u-pei tao-ch'ang hsiao-tsai chiu-yu ch'an 太上慈悲道場消災九幽懺 (HY.543, f.297-299). See Yoshioka 1970: 393 ff., Yoshioka 1976a: 237-238.

68. The T'ai-shang i-sheng hai-k'ung chih-tsang ching 太上一乘海空智藏經

(HY.9, f.20-22) is a large work of ten fascicles which borrows heavily from Buddhist philosophical sources. See Kamata 1963a: 178-194; Kamata 1968a: 63-67 and 82-100; Kohn 1989c: 252. Kamata shows extensive borrowing from the Vimalakîrtinirdeśa, as well as from a variety of Yogâcâra and Tathâgatagarbha texts.

69. The Hsüan-men ta-i 玄門大義 and the Tao-chiao i-shu 道教義樞 are both included in the T'ai-hsüan-pu 太玄部 section of the Taoist canon. In the "three-cavern-four-supplement" (san-tung-ssu-fu 三洞四輔) division of the canon, the T'ai-hsüan-pu is given the highest position among the four supplements, and constitutes the nucleus of the so-called T'ai-hsüan p'ai. Sunayama insists that Meng Chih-chou, who was pivotal in the T'ai-hsüan p'ai and was also a "proto-ch'ung-hsüan" figure, effects a connection between the two traditions. Indeed, he insists that the T'ai-hsüan p'ai is "proto ch'ung-hsüan p'ai."

Sunayama traces Ling-pao p'ai influences on the Ch'ung-hsüan p'ai through the Liang Taoist Sung Wen-ming 宋文明 who was active in the transmission of the Ling-pao scriptures, and who also participated in Buddho-Taoist debates. The Hsüan-men ta-i seems to be influenced by both the T'ai-hsüan p'ai and the Ling-pao p'ai. Finally, Sunayama argues that Fa-lin, in his Pien-cheng lun (T.2110: 52.536c), links together a number of figures who are associated with the ch'ung-hsüan school, the T'ai-hsüan p'ai and the Ling-pao p'ai (Sunayama 1980a: 39-41).

70. The classic case in Japan is that of the late twelfth-century monk Dainichi Nônin 大日能忍. The Honchô kôsôden 本朝高僧傳 records that, despite Nônin's spiritual attainment and popularity, he was attacked because he had not studied under a master (Faure 1987b). In 1189 he sent two of his disciples to Sung China bearing a letter and gifts, which were presented to Cho-an Te-kuang 拙庵德光 (1121-1203), a disciple of Ta-hui Tsung-kao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163), with the request that he acknowledge Nônin's enlightenment. According to the Honchô kôsôden:

> Te-kuang gladly attested to Nônin's awakening, presented a dharma robe and name, and a picture of Bodhidharma with a laudatory verse inscribed. Renchû and Shôben had an artist paint a portrait 像 of Te-kuang and asked the master to write a verse in praise. Te-kuang wrote: "This monk, a true man without face, has upset the heavens and turned back the axis of the earth. Master Jen [Nônin] stands forth in his eminent enlightenment and has set to flight heretics and demons." (Dainihon bukkyô zensho 大日本佛教全書 63: 273; trans. Faure 1987b: 28)

Holmes Welch records the case of a Taiwanese monk who transmitted the dharma to a Chinese living in Burma "without ever having met him and, indeed, without even finding out whether he would accept the dharma" (1967: 315).

71. T.2837: 85.1290c5; Yanagida 1971: 312; Faure 1984: 768.

72. T.1485: 24, chüan 1, section 3; Yanagida 1971: 317. This text is traditionally considered to be a translation by Chu Fo-nien 竺佛念 in 374, but is now believed to be a Chinese composition of the fifth or sixth century.

73. Chih Tun 支遁 was one of the earlier Buddhist exegetes to use the term. It is found in a poem of his preserved in the Kuang-hung-ming chi 廣弘明集 (T.2103: 52.350b18), as well as his "Preface to a Synoptic Extract of the Larger and Smaller Versions of the Prajñâpãramitâ" (Ta-hsiao-p'in tui-pi yao ch'ao-hsü 大小品對比要抄序, T.2145: 55.55a17). The term is also found in the Chao-lun (T.1858: 45.160b20), although the exact sense of Seng-chao's usage is unclear (see note 75 below). Note also the references to ch'ung-hsüan in the following later Buddhist materials: the preface to the Hui-ta's 慧達 preface to the Chao-lun 肇論 (T.1858: 45.150b26); the Chao-lun shu 肇論疏 by Yüan-k'ang 元康 (T.1859: 45.164b13); the Ch'i-hsin lun shu 起信論疏 by Wonhyo 元曉 (T.1844: 44.202a22); the Hsiao-chih-kuan 小止觀 by Chih-i (T.1915: 46.474a5); the Chih-kuan fu hsing chuan hung chüeh 止觀輔行傳弘決 by Chan-jan 湛然 (T.1912: 46.239a18); the Ching-ming ching kuan-chung shih-chao 淨名經關中釋抄 by Tao-i 道掖 (T.2778: 85.525a9); the Ching-ming hsüan lun 淨名玄論 by Chi-tsang 吉藏 (T.1780: 38.856b); the Chu-fa wu-cheng san-mei fa-men 諸法無諍三昧法門 by Hui-ssu 慧思 (T.1923: 46.632a22-23); the Chung-kuan lun shu 中觀論疏 by Chi-tsang 吉藏 (T.1824: 42.3c); the Hsin hua-yen ching lun 新華嚴經論 by Li T'ung-hsüan 李通玄 (T.1739: 36.742a and 747a); the Hua-yen ching shu 華嚴經疏 by Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (T.1735: 35.503a); and the Yen-i ch'ao 演義鈔 by Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (T.1736: 36.8a). (Most of these references were culled from Kamata 1965: 276-288; Faure 1984: 780-781; and Yanagida 1971: 317-318.)

74. HY.1130, f.768-779. This encyclopedia was commissioned by Emperor Wu of the Chou in 574. Over 30 of its original 100 fascicles are now lost. This text is the subject of a major study by Langerwey (1981). See also Nienhauser ed. 1986: 149-150.

75. For these references see note 73 above. The exact sense of ch'ung-hsüan chih yü 重玄之域 ("region of the twofold mystery") in Seng-chao's work is not entirely clear, as it may be a metaphoric reference to the Shang-ch'ing hsüan-tu 上清玄都 of the Wu-shang pu-yao. Tsukamoto understands it simply as the "extremely profound and recondite realm of non-action" (重玄[極めておくふかい]なる[無爲の]世界, Tsukamoto ed. 1955: 1.82). The same expression is also found in the works of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying. See, for example, his commentary to the Chuang-tzu: "The realm of the ultimate Tao is the region of the twofold mystery, which even the mind of the sage cannot know, and even the spirits cannot discuss 至道之境 重玄之域 聖心所不能知 神口所不能弁" (quoted in Fujiwara 1961: 34).

76. Yoshioka 1970: 114-115; cf. trans. in Robinet 1977: 256.

77. See Murti 1960: 131-143; Stcherbatsky 1965: 14-18; Robinson 1976: 54-58 and passim.

78. See for example the Majjhima-nikâya 63 and 72 (Trenckner 1: 426 and 486). The tetralemma formula is also found in the Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom (Ta-chih tu-lun 大智度論 T.1509: 25.74c-75a [Lamotte 1949: 1.153 ff.]; 110a [Lamotte 1949: 1.423 ff.]; and 170a [Lamotte 1949: 2.913]). See Robinson 1976: 55.

79. Chapter 24 of the Mûla-madhyamaka-kârikâ is the locus classicus for the Mahâyâna understanding of the two truths. For a lively discussion of the two truths in Indian thought see the collection of papers edited by Sprung 1973.

80. Erh-ti i 二諦義, T.1854: 45.90c29-91a14; translation follows Chan 1963: 360, with some changes.

81. Mahâyâna dialectic is spiral in that it continually circles back upon itself. The paradigmatic form is: "A dharma is a non-dharma, and therefore it is a dharma." This formula, repeated in different guises ad nauseam throughout the prajñâpâramitâ literature, states that since dharmas are devoid of own-being (svabhâva, independent ontological status) they are "non-dharmas" or "empty" dharmas. But this is not to be construed as asserting the absolute non-existence of dharmas. Dharmas exist conditionally, within the web of dependent-origination. But such conditional existence is absolute existence in so far as it is the only kind of existence we have, and thus dharmas are dharmas. We have returned to our starting point, yet not quite, as we now understand dharma in the context of emptiness and dependent-origination, an understanding which mitigates against attachment.

82. The translation is that of D. C. Lau (1963: 60), and is based on his emendation of 盈 to 窮.

83. Tao-te chen-ching chu 道德眞經註, HY.722, f.430: 1.1.9a; cf. Robinet 1977: 113.

84. For an analysis of "goblet words" in Chuang-tzu see Wu Kuang-ming 1982: 31-39.

85. Zürcher 1972: 91. For the distinction between root and trace see also the Tao-chiao i-shu 道教義樞, chapter 8, section 1. Here the trace/root distinction is discussed in reference to the distinction between "teachings" (chiao 教) and "principle" (li 理), or "skillful means" (fang-pien 方便) and the "absolute" (chiu-ching 究竟). Once the root, or principle, or absolute is grasped, the trace, or teachings, or skillful means should be abandoned.

86. See Robinet 1977: 147.

87. T.1610: 31.806b; translation follows Shih 1984: 29-30, with minor changes. See Takasaki 1966: 47-49, for a discussion of the date and provenance of this text.

88. From the introduction to Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's commentary to the Tao-te ching, Yoshioka edition, 1970: 113.12-14; cf. Robinet 1977: 245. The distinction is also featured in section 27, chüan 8, of the Tao-chiao i-shu (HY.1121, f.762-763, see below).

89. Sk. Pañcaviṃśatisâhasrikâprajñâpâramitâsûtra, translated by Moksala in 291. T.221: 8.67a7 and 78a28.

90. T.1858: 45.154a10-13; translation from Robinson 1976: 217. Cf. Tsukamoto ed. 1955: 1.30.

91. See Fa-tsang's Hua-yen ching t'an-hsüan chi 華嚴經探玄記, composed during the period 687-695, T.1733: 35.195a; and Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen's Tso-wang lun 坐忘論, HY.1030, f.704: 11b; Kohn 1987b: 103.

92. T.2837: 85.1283b; see also the edition by Yanagida 1971: 67.

93. On the T'ang use of Taoist ideology and the Tao-te ching for political purposes, see Barrett n.d.; Benn 1977; and Twitchett ed. 1979: 411-413.

94. See Barrett n.d.: 26-32; and Benn 1977: 52-53.

95. A discussion of this controversy can be found in Hung 1957: 78-83, and Benn 1977: 125-126, and 366-367 n.20. On the Ho-Shang Kung commentary itself see Hung 1957: 121 n.76.

96. This was not the first time the Tao-te ching was elevated to the highest level: "An order in 678 requiring examination candidates to study and answer questions on Lao-tzu's work raised it to the level of shang-ching 上經, superior classic. The earlier act, however, was not made at the expense of the Confucian classics as Hsüan-tsung's was" (Benn 1977: 276-277).

97. See Barrett n.d.: 53, from whom I borrowed the phrase "spiritualized gentry Taoism." On Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, the twelfth patriarch of Shang-ch'ing Taoism, and his Tso-wang lun, see Kohn 1987b: 21-23 and 77-111.

CHAPTER 2

CHINESE BUDDHISM AND THE PROBLEM OF "SYNCRETISM"

The game of "Influence" is a popular academic pastime: the winner is the professor who can reduce a given idea to "influences" without remainder, thus gratifyingly demonstrating that only scholars have original thoughts.

Roger Corless

A. Syncretism and Chinese Religion

Chinese religion is often characterized as fundamentally syncretic. Chinese religious phenomena typically show evidence of a mixture in varying proportions of native religious traditions -- Taoism and Confucianism -- and foreign imports, primarily Buddhism. Some scholars will speak of Chinese "popular religion," or "diffuse religion," as yet another and somewhat distinct force in Chinese culture. The view of the Chinese as tending towards syncretism has been put forward by W. E. Soothill (1923: 13), Henri Maspero (1967: 111-138; 1981: 77-87), C. K. Yang (1961: 123-126), Nakamura Hajime (1964: 290-294), Judith Berling (1980: 1-31), Langlois and Sun (1983), Shih Heng-ching (1984: 8-25) and others. Indeed, given the terms in which scholars have come to discuss Chinese religion, this view is virtually unavoidable.

The term "syncretism" is loosely used to refer to the result of two or more traditions coming into contact and interacting with each other.[1] Helmer Ringgren provides the following rough definition of the term:

> . . . any mixture of two or more religions, as for instance, in Hellenistic syncretism, where elements from several religions are merged and influence each other mutually. It might also be used to refer to cases when elements from one religion are accepted into another without basically changing the character of the receiving religion (because of the relatively small quantity of adopted elements). (Ringgren 1969: 7)

Heng-Ching Shih, in a study of Chinese syncretism, offers a similar working definition: "In the most general sense, religious syncretism means the amalgamating, borrowing, and adopting of various elements of different traditions" (1984: 8). Shih goes on to cite "the unity of the three religions of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, and the unity of different elements within the tradition of Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism" as typical examples of Chinese syncretism.

The category "syncretism" would seem particularly appropriate in the study of the Chinese adaptation of Indian Buddhism. Is not Chinese Buddhism the result of an encounter between religious cultures, an encounter which would have involved a certain degree of "syncretic" accommodation? But what is involved in diverse traditions "encountering" one another? Strictly speaking, contact occurs between people, not traditions, and Buddhism took hold in China primarily through the agency of Chinese, not Indic, peoples. There is little evidence that Indian or even Central Asian Buddhist priests were ever active in large numbers in China. The great Indian and Serindian translators and exegetes such as Kumârajîva and Paramârtha influenced religious history primarily through the means of their Chinese translations and commentaries, and the Chinese confrontation with Indian Buddhist ritual and liturgy would have been mediated through the vernacular language. Although the process of translation is still not fully understood, we know that at least some of the early Indian "translators" did not in fact know the Chinese language, and even those who were conversant in Chinese were rarely fully literate in the language.[2]

It is thus difficult to speak in simple terms of a Chinese encounter with Indian Buddhism. The encounter takes place between Chinese persons and a Buddhism already sinified if only by virtue of being rendered into Chinese. There are exceptions, notably those Chinese who actually traveled to Central Asia and India and who gained some facility in Indic languages (as did Fa-hsien 法顯 [339-420] and Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 [602-664]), or Chinese Buddhists who worked directly with Indian or Central Asian missionaries (as did Seng-chao). But the tendency among scholars is to focus upon such figures as paradigmatic of the process of transmission and enculturation, rather than as the rare exceptions they were.

For the most part, the "otherness" of Indian Buddhism would have gone unrecognized, as "the other" is only recognized as "other" to the extent that it can be rendered in a meaningful idiom -- i.e., construed as non-other. Like ships passing in the night, aspects of Indian Buddhism remained veiled to the Chinese. Many central features of Indian Buddhist philosophy -- including the emphasis upon universal suffering (duḥkha), theories of causation, sources of valid cognition (pramâṇa), and so on -- escape the attention of the Chinese almost entirely in the early period of Buddhism in China. Even in the "golden age" of the T'ang, the concerns of Chinese Buddhist exegetics lie in areas which have precedents in pre-Buddhist Chinese philosophy. Rather than a focus on the syntax of conceptual thought, as we find in Indian Mâdhyamika, or a concern with epistemology and mental representation, characteristic of Yogâcâra, the Chinese controversies revolve around the characterization of man's intrinsic nature, the status of the sage, the relationship between man and nature, and so on -- all issues which can be traced to Chou and Han philosophical debates.

The issue of "Indian influence" upon Chinese culture, which Zürcher dubbed "the Buddhist conquest of China," raises a host of hermeneutic questions related to the general issue of syncretism. How are we to recognize and distinguish real dialogue among traditions from what

is merely the pretense of dialogue? From whose vantage point are we to judge the result of the interaction? The category "syncretism" is frequently invoked without reflecting upon the host of complex theoretical and methodological problems the term entails.[3] Although I cannot hope to do justice to the topic as a whole, this chapter will address the issue in so far as it bears upon our understanding of T'ang Buddho-Taoist literary products. I will begin with an examination of the two classic examples of Chinese syncretism: the "unity of the three creeds," and Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism. I will argue that in both cases the term "syncretism" is misleading, and that a "thick description" or full contextualization of the material is required before one can label a text or doctrine "syncretic" in any meaningful sense. The error made by some scholars of Chinese religions, as we shall see, is one of reading polemic and ideological documents as if they accurately depicted social and institutional history. This contributes to the widespread tendency to reify "schools," "sects" and "lineages" in Chinese religious history, and leads to an "essentialist" model of doctrinal and institutional evolution.

B. Buddhist Syncretism and the Unity of the Three Creeds

The "unity of the three creeds" is often held up as being ecumenical in spirit, and symptomatic of the Chinese virtues of tolerance, openness, and pragmatism.[4] It is understood as an ideology which embraces and harmonizes three discrete faiths -- Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. But what exactly are these three "creeds"? Do they denote independent institutional or sociological entities, or are they best thought of as bodies of literature or schools of thought? Judith Berling, in an extended study of Lin Chao-en and the "unity of the three creeds," is aware of the ambiguity of the term "syncretism," and devotes a chapter to the defense of the utility of the term. At no point, however, does she raise the issue of what exactly is meant by "Taoism," "Buddhism," or "Confucianism."

There is a long debate in Western literature concerning the status of Confucianism: Is it a religious doctrine, a system of secular cultural values, or something else altogether? We find in Sung "Neo-Confucianism" many of the institutional trappings and religious practices of the Buddhists and the Taoists, yet there is little evidence that Confucianism in pre-Sung China was one creed among many. "Confucian culture" has its roots in the Chou Juist priesthood -- a guild of ritualists who were masters of arcane modes of speech, and sacred dances (Eno 1990: 30-63). But from Han times down to the Sung "Confucianism" more accurately denotes a complex of normative values, rules of etiquette, and a scriptural canon accepted by all members of China's elite. Confucianism espoused social harmony through the display of filial piety and ancestor worship. And despite textbook accounts of Buddhism and Taoism in China, ancestor worship is the <u>sine qua non</u> of virtually all religious practice in China. The Confucian universe is conceived as an organic whole, operating according to the metaphysics of <u>yin</u> and <u>yang</u>, the five phases (<u>wu-hsing</u> 五行), and a complex of vital energies (<u>ch'i</u> 氣). The fact that these forces interact in regular and predictable ways underlies the ubiquitous sciences of geomancy and divination. The natural and human worlds are inextricably interwoven, and the larger goal of Chinese science was the restoration of the original state of natural harmony. But surely this is not Confucian in any exclusive sense; this cosmological scheme is just as integral to Taoist and Buddhist metaphysical speculation. The <u>I-ching</u> and its commentaries, which constitute the <u>locus classicus</u> for such "Confucian" cosmological theory, are equally a part of the Taoist and Buddhist intellectual heritage in China. To quote Michel Strickmann:

> The oft-mentioned "Confucianism" is, in my opinion, best seen as something else [i.e., other than a religion like Buddhism and Taoism], not strictly comparable -- more a Paideia, a system of culture and its graduated inculcation, rather than a faith professed by a guild of ritual technicians claiming otherworldly authority. The paradigm later styled "Confucian" was simply a broad base of Sinic letters, a fundamental view of cosmos and society which we might better term "common Chinese," for it was also fully shared by Taoist priests and Chinese Buddhist monks.

> Indeed, in medieval times, Taoist abbeys and Buddhist monasteries often sheltered academies providing training in this common Chinese literary culture, full assimilation of which, whatever one's regional or even ethnic origins, certified a man as civilized: respectably Chinese. (1982: 55)

This becomes all the more obvious when we look at Six Dynasties and T'ang debates between religious traditions in China.[5] Taoists and Buddhists are not found arguing against the "Confucian position" per se, but rather insisting that they subsume it. To be accused of violating Confucian norms is to be accused of being immoral by criteria accepted by all parties. Thus, to argue the essential identity of Confucian and Buddhist norms, or Confucian and Taoist norms, does not constitute an attempt at syncretic accommodation, but is rather to make the claim that one's religious tradition is morally defensible.

Of course, there were debates, often under imperial sponsorship, between Buddhists or Taoists and "Confucians." But the "Confucians" were not so much members of religious sects or organizations as they were representatives of court interests and advocates of classical literati mores. In such debates, individuals on all sides occasionally touted comprehensive positions which gave the appearance of accommodating their rivals. It is the tendency towards such comprehensive "all-embracing" positions which has given rise to the claim that the Chinese are prone to syncretism because they are "moderate, tolerant and accepting" of a variety of creeds (Shih 1984: 11; cf. Nakamura 1964: 284-285). Berling cites the example of Tsung-mi 宗密, who says in his Yüan-jen lun 原人論:

> Confucius, Lao Tzu, and Śâkyamuni were consummate sages who, in accord with the times and in response to beings, made different paths in setting up their teachings. The inner and outer [teachings] complement one another, together benefiting the people. As for promoting the myriad practices, clarifying cause and effect from beginning to end, exhaustively investigating the myriad phenomena, and elucidating the full scope of birth and arising -- even though these are all the intention of the sages, there are still provisional and ultimate [explanations]. The two teachings [of Confucianism and Taoism] are just provisional, whereas Buddhism includes both provisional and ultimate. Since

> encouraging the myriad practices, admonishing against evil, and promoting good contribute in common to order, the three teachings should all be followed and practiced. [However], if it be a matter of investigating the myriad phenomena, exhausting principle, realizing the nature, and reaching the original source, then Buddhism alone is the ultimate verdict. (T.1886: 45.708a8-13; trans. Gregory 1981: 224)

Berling, quoting all but the crucial final sentence of this passage, considers this evidence of "syncretistic accommodation" (1980: 31). But the spirit is far from ecumenical. Tsung-mi is unequivocal -- Buddhism in no way contradicts the other traditions, which are deserving of respect, but Buddhism is ultimate while the others are provisional. This method of normative ranking is based on the same principles which underlie p'an-chiao 判教 systems ("ranking of the doctrines"), a popular interpretative strategy among exegetes in both the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen traditions.[6] The principle is relatively simple -- teachings must be situated in their proper context to be fully appreciated, and when so placed, inconsistencies between texts or doctrines disappear. Some teachings were intended for less spiritually evolved beings, or for beings of limited capacity. Other doctrines were designed for those of superior faculties, and as such are more "direct" and contribute to speedier progress on the path. Teachings deemed superior encompass, and to some degree subsume, teachings lower in rank.

Recent studies of p'an-chiao classification schemes all assume that such systems constitute indigenous Chinese Buddhist hermeneutical theories.[7] If by "hermeneutic" one means "interpretative framework" there is little argument to be made. But if "hermeneutic" is to be taken in the contemporary philosophical sense, implying a rigorous self-awareness on the part of the interpreter of his own situation vis-a-vis the text, I think the equation "p'an-chiao = hermeneutic" is far too simplistic. It is not at all evident that the authors of Chinese medieval p'an-chiao schemes were critically self-conscious of the intractable problems in interpretation which arise due to the cultural, geographical and temporal distance which separate author from reader.[8]

The often explicit intention behind the majority of such systems is polemic -- far from being accommodating such rhetoric is in fact hegemonic.

The roots of this polemic strategy can be traced in large part to the doctrine of upâya (fang-pien 方便, "skillful means"), a doctrine which served the polemic interests of the Mahâyâna in their claims to represent the superior, if not the earlier, teaching. The Hînayâna teachings are indeed to be accorded provisional value, and must not be rejected but rather subsumed. The situation of Chinese Buddhists vis-a-vis their native rivals is similar in some respects to the situation of the Mahâyâna vis-a-vis earlier Buddhist doctrines. In both cases it would have been imprudent and impolitic to designate one's rivals as simply wrong-headed. The upâya doctrine, whose rhetorical structure is in many respects logically analogous to that of the two truths, provided a model through which Chinese Buddhism could seek accommodation with native religious and intellectual traditions: The teachings of our opponents are true, but in a provisional way. They are teachings devised by sages to serve the needs of those of limited capacities. From the ultimate point of view all teachings -- Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism -- are the same. But we Buddhists alone grasp the relationship between root and branch, between the ultimate and the provisional. True, all fingers point to the same moon, but while others are distracted by the fingers, we directly contemplate the moon. All teachings may be mere fingers, but our finger is more "moon-like" than those of our rivals.

A striking case of this didactic strategy can be found in the Tun-wu ju-tao yao-men lun 頓悟入道要門論 by Ta-chu Hui-hai 大珠慧海, the famed disciple of Ma-tsu tao-i 馬祖道一 (709-788). Ta-chu is asked by a guest: "Of the Vinaya teacher, the Dharma teacher and the Ch'an teacher, who is superior?" Ta-chu goes on to extol the virtues of each, and then concludes: "The dharma is imparted according to the circumstances. Although the three practices [vinaya, dharma, and ch'an] are different, to

grasp the meaning is to forget about the words. How could they differ from the One Vehicle?"[9] The guest went on to ask:

> "Are the three teachings, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, the same or different?" The teacher answered: "When employed by those of great capacity they are the same, but when grasped by those of little intelligence they are different. They all arise and function from One Nature 總從一性上起用, but according to circumstances they are seen as distinct and become three. Confusion and awakening arise from man -- they do not reside in the differences or in the identity of the teachings." (Hirano 1970: 150)

Nakamura Hajime, in a chapter on "Reconciling and Harmonizing Thought" in China, reads Ta-chu as asserting the ultimate equality of the three traditions (1964: 284-294). Nakamura confidently declares: "With this idea, Buddhists completely abandoned the idea of the superiority of Buddhism" (1964: 287). But such a conclusion is possible only through a forced misreading achieved by wrenching these few lines from the context in which they occur. The Tun-wu ju-tao yao-men lun is a thoroughly Buddhist tract, from the opening invocation to the final section on wisdom and compassion. The invocation reads:

> I reverently bow my head to all Buddhas of the ten directions and the assemblies of bodhisattvas. In setting forth this treatise now I fear that I will fail to impart the Holy Mind 聖心, and for this I desire to confess and repent. Should I succeed, however, in imparting the Holy Principle 聖理, may the resultant merit be wholly dedicated to all sentient beings, such that they may, in future lives, fully attain Buddhahood. (Hirano 1970: 6)

Much of Ta-chu's treatise is devoted to the explication of sudden awakening, attained through the cessation of discriminatory thinking. "The non-arising of deluded thinking is dhyâna; sitting and seeing original nature is samâdhi 妄念不生爲禪 坐見本性爲定" (Hirano 1970: 11). When Ta-chu refers to those of great wisdom he means those possessing Ch'an enlightenment. The "One Nature" (i-hsing 一性) to which Ta-chu refers is the Buddha nature, possessed by all, but realized through the Buddhist patriarchal succession. All teachings are the same, in so far as all teachings accord with the teachings of Ch'an. All teachings are held up to the measure of Ch'an.

Nakamura also cites the writings of Ch'i-sung 契嵩 (1007-1072), a Sung Ch'an monk well-schooled in Confucian texts and considered a paragon of the synthetic spirit of the Sung.[10] Ch'i-sung writes in his Fu-chiao pien 輔教編:

> The teachings of the saints are all excellent, and the paths of the saints are all correct. . . One need not be a Buddhist monk or a Juist, one need not [hold to] this or that. [To discriminate] this and that [is a mere product of human] sentiment. Buddhism and Confucianism are but traces, traces left by the sages who abide in the original [truth]. The sentiments of the sages are in accord with their [true] natures. They abide in the original and are not attached to the traces. 僧儒者迹也 聖人垂迹所以存本也 聖人行情 所以順性也 存本而不滞迹.[11]

Again, taken entirely out of context, this passage may be understood as advocating the identity of Confucian and Buddhist values. But biographical materials present Ch'i-sung as an ardent polemicist devoted to the cause of Buddhism in the face of Neo-Confucian attacks.[12] More specifically, Ch'i-sung was a Ch'an "fundamentalist" who maintained the Ch'an claim to possess the true transmission of the dharma going back to the historical Buddha. He was wholly partial to Buddhism, and his rhetoric was thoroughly hegemonic -- he sought to appropriate and subordinate other ethical and metaphysical systems and promote his own.

C. Buddhist Rhetorical Hegemony

Countless more examples could be given of this classic Mahâyâna polemical strategy. Whether under the apologetic rubric of upâya, or the scholastic method of p'an-chiao, such rhetorical methods should be understood for what they are: powerful methods of exalting one's own position, not by denouncing rival positions as false, but by insisting they are correct but provisional and limited. Such indeed is the message of the Lotus, the canonical source for upâya polemics par excellence.[13]

One variation of this strategy works through the elevation of one term within a set such that it is redefined to encompass the set itself. In early Mahâyâna doctrine the term prajñâ ("wisdom") was designated one of six pâramitâ, or "perfections" to be cultivated by aspiring bodhisattvas. The Prajñâpâramitâ literature, however, asserts that the term prajñâ is not only the most important of the six perfections, but actually embraces them all. The Buddha of the Aṣṭasâhasrikâ proclaims:

> The perfection of wisdom therefore gets its name from its supreme excellence. Through it the wholesome roots, dedicated to all-knowledge, get the name of "perfections." It is therefore because it has dedicated the wholesome roots to all-knowledge that the perfection of wisdom controls, guides and leads the five perfections. The five perfections are in this manner contained in the perfection of wisdom, and the term "perfection of wisdom" is just a synonym for the fulfillment of the six perfections. In consequence, when the perfection of wisdom is proclaimed, all the six perfections are proclaimed. (Trans. Conze 1975: 111-112)

Similarly, early Ch'an ideological tracts redefine the term "ch'an" (also one of the six perfections), such that it no longer refers to a particular practice, but rather denotes the enlightened perspective itself. The claim that T'ang Ch'an actually rejected ritual and formal meditation practice is in part founded upon a misunderstanding of this polemic use of "ch'an" or "tso-ch'an" 坐禪 in early Ch'an ideological tracts (i.e., the texts attributed to East-Mountain or Northern School teaching). According to these works, "ch'an" does not refer to a specific practice or activity at all, but is used as a synonym for "seeing directly one's true nature." Texts such as Hsiu-hsin yao lun 修心要論, Yüan-ming lun 圓明論, Wu fang-pien lun 五方便論, the Wu-hsing lun 悟性論, and the Hsieh-mo lun 血脈論, to name just a few, all undertake a redefinition of "ch'an" such that true ch'an is synonymous with the awakened mind itself.[14] A single quote from the Wu-hsing lun should suffice as an example:

> The sûtra says: "the cave of the five skandhas are called the hall of ch'an. The opening of inner illumination is the gate to the Great Vehicle." To cease reflecting on all dharmas is called ch'an-ting 禪定. Walking, standing, sitting or lying down, everything is ch'an-ting. To know that the mind is empty is to see the

> Buddha. Why so? All the Buddhas of the ten directions are devoid of mind and thus are not seen by mind. This is called "seeing the Buddha." To relinquish mind without regret is the greatest charity. To transcend both motion and stillness 定 is called "great sitting-ch'an" 大坐禪. Why so? Commoners are always moving, while those of the small-vehicle remain still. But the sitting-ch'an which surpasses that of both commoners and those of the small vehicle is called great sitting-ch'an. (T.2009: 48.370c26-371a4)

The Platform Sûtra has no quarrel with the "Northern tradition" in this regard:

> In this teaching "sitting" means without any obstruction anywhere, outwardly and under all circumstances, not to activate thoughts. "Meditation" is internally to see the original nature and not become confused. And what do we call Ch'an meditation? Outwardly to exclude form is "ch'an;" inwardly to be unconfused is meditation. (trans. Yampolsky 1967: 140)

This shift in the meaning of "ch'an" draws upon the understanding of practice developed in the writings of T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen exegetes, particularly Chih-i. Chih-i employs the "phenomena-principle" (shih-li 事理) distinction didactically to denote two aspects of any practice which constitute logically distinct categories, either of which can be the focus of concentrated attention.

> The second [kind of cultivation of single-mindedness] is the cultivation of the energy of single-mindedness in principle 理. The practitioner from his first entry into the practice hall should reflect as follows: "From now until completion of the full twenty-one days I will maintain full awareness that the mental activities that I produce and the essential nature of mind [itself] are not separate." Why so? When one salutes the Buddha, mind in its essential nature neither arises nor ceases. Thus it should be known that no matter what activity is performed, mind by nature does not arise or perish in the slightest.
>
> When he discerns in this fashion the practitioner perceives that everything is simply one mind, for mind in its essential nature, from the outset, has always had the mark of oneness. If the practitioner can turn back and discern thought after instant of thought, avoid apprehending any mental feature whatsoever up to the completion of the twenty-one days, then this is known as the procedure for developing single-minded perseverance through absorption in principle.[15]

The early Ch'an texts mentioned above explicitly redefine the term "ch'an" to mean "seeing principle (li) in every activity, and thus apprehending the truth of the non-duality of subject-object, movement-stillness, deluded-awakened." "Ch'an," in this sense, does not denote a particular practice -- ritualized sitting meditation -- but is rather a cognitive attitude which can be cultivated while engaged in any activity whatsoever. This sense of "ch'an" must not be confused with the continued use of the term to refer to various ritual procedures or "meditations" (including, as we will see below, nien-fo 念佛).

"Ch'an" is only one of a series of terms, including "Buddha," which are redefined dialectically. The didactic point is straightforward -- the use of any Buddhist term is ultimately upâya, and the moment it becomes an object of grasping it is rendered a hindrance. Ch'an ideology, in advocating non-attachment to all forms, simultaneously accommodates all forms. This allows Tsung-mi to claim that "ch'an," properly understood, is not one school among many, but the very essence of all Buddhist schools.[16]

Much like the boy with the golden finger, everything touched by Ch'an rhetoric turns to Ch'an. This tendency -- latent in Mahâyâna and blatant in Ch'an -- to swallow up rival traditions in a rhetorical slight of hand which refuses to recognize significant differences persists to the present day. One continues to hear the claim made that Zen is not one religion among many, but rather the experience which lies behind all legitimate religious life. This claim is most characteristic of modern Zen apologists associated with, or influenced by, Kyoto school thinkers, notably Hisamatsu and the FAS society.[17] For Hisamatsu:

> Zen . . . is nothing "particular." It is, in the ultimate sense, non-particular, totally undifferentiated; what, again in the true sense, never becomes an object never can be objectified. Zen is the Self that is ultimately and wholly beyond objectification; in brief, Zen is the Self-Awareness of Formlessness. (Hisamatsu 1971: 48)

Hisamatsu was anything but an exponent of ecumenical accommodation. This claim that Zen is not a practice or a doctrine, but is an experience of the ultimate, is made in the service of Japanese nationalism, and is typical of the "discussions concerning [the unique characteristics of] the Japanese people" (nihonjin ron 日本人論) of the post-war years:

> I have long spoken of "Oriental Nothingness" with precisely the aforementioned meaning in mind. I qualify it as Oriental because in the West such Nothingness has never been fully awakened, nor has there been penetration to such a level. However, this does not mean that it belongs exclusively to the East. On the contrary, it is the most profound basis or root source of man; in this sense it belongs neither to the East or West. Only as regards the actual Awakening to such a Self, there have been no instances in the West; hence the regional qualification "Oriental." (Hisamatsu 1971: 50; emphasis mine)

Hisamatsu's patronizing attitude towards the West needs little comment. It will suffice to note that Zen was popularized in the West through the activities of many in the same intellectual tradition as Hisamatsu, including D. T. Suzuki, Nishitani Keiji, Abe Masao, Richard DeMartino, and Alan Watts. These were men who sought to balance Zen practice with the intellectual study of Zen philosophy. For many years the claims made by these men for the "trans-cultural" and "trans-religious" nature of Ch'an and Zen teachings were reiterated by Western writers on the topic. It is perhaps surprising that the Zen claim to embody a "trans-cultural" truth was taken seriously by intellectuals in the West, but it is even more surprising that many of the same intellectuals failed to recognize the imperialistic agenda behind such claims.

* * *

We see that the "unity of the three creeds" doctrine as advocated by certain Buddhist exegetes is in fact an instantiation of upâya thought, and is properly understood as a polemic strategy placed in the service of a specific ideology. It is certainly not "syncretic" if by this term we mean a conscious attempt to incorporate aspects of a for-

eign tradition in a spirit of accommodation. The term "syncretism" is also misapplied because, as we saw, "Confucianism" is best thought of not as a rival tradition, but as a common culture and body of learning, shared by all educated Chinese in the medieval period. An adequate understanding of the rhetoric of "the unity of the three creeds" demands that we look at the institutional and polemic context in which such rhetoric occurs -- a point to which I will return below. But first I will turn to another reputed instantiation of the "Chinese syncretic spirit:" the synthesis of Pure Land and Ch'an.

D. Ch'an-Pure Land Syncretism

The claim that later Chinese Buddhism typically takes the form of an amalgamation of Pure Land and Ch'an is found throughout the secondary literature. The claim is made not only about later Chinese Buddhism, but also its representative in Japan -- the Ōbaku school 黃檗宗. In his study of the "syncretist" Yung-ming Yen-shou 永明延壽 (904-975), Shih states:

> Doctrinally, no other characteristic of Chinese Buddhism is more unique and controversial than that of Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism, for it is a rapprochement and synthesis of two radically distinct traditions. Ch'an emphasizes "seeing into one's own nature" (chien-hsing) through one's own effort, while Pure Land stresses salvation through faith in the "other-power." One practices meditation, the other nien-fo. Both doctrines and practices seem irreconcilable. Yet the simultaneous practice of these two different patterns of devotional and meditative disciplines has been observed side by side after T'ang. (Shih 1984: 4-5)

Similarly, Berling, commenting on the "odd marriage of Ch'an meditation and the recitation of the name of Amitâbha" which she believes took place in the Sung, says: "At first glance Ch'an and Pure Land seem irreconcilably at odds" (1980: 34). This, according to Berling, is because Ch'an advocates "self-power" and Pure Land "other-power." But it is surprising that anyone familiar with Ch'an rhetoric should see this dichotomy as problematic -- it is typical of Ch'an

dialectic to insist on the simultaneous affirmation and negation of both sides of such dichotomies. But the less obvious problem with this conception of Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism is the assumption that Ch'an and Pure Land constitute independent schools of Buddhism in China. Surely, the term "syncretism" is only applicable in so far as one can identify what were originally two (or more) distinct traditions. It is to this issue that we will now turn our attention.

E. The Nature Of T'ang Ch'an

The fundamental problem in our understanding of Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism again lies in accepting religious mythology and ideological claims as historical and sociological facts. Buddhist revisionist historians in the Sung cultivated the image of the "Golden Age" of T'ang Ch'an, a myth which was further developed and embellished by later Japanese Zen apologists and contemporary scholars. According to this view, T'ang Ch'an masters rejected ritual forms, delighted in spontaneous unmannered discourse, insisted on manual labor, and advocated meditation free of magical accoutrements such as _dhâraṇî_, _mantra_, and _nien-fo_. The relatively well documented Ch'an of the Sung -- and, in turn, Japanese Zen -- appears mannered and tradition-bound in comparison, but this is attributed to pressures of routinization, institutionalization, and the persistent erosive forces of the "little" or popular Buddhist tradition. The familiar Chinese and Japanese Ch'an institutions of later periods are but dim reflections of a vital early Ch'an, with its revolutionary focus on "direct pointing."

Ch'an and Zen polemicists thus posit a "pure Ch'an," a religious practice devoted solely to the inculcation of a religious experience called _wu_ 悟 (J. _satori_, often translated "enlightenment"). Enlightenment manifests as a flash of insight, which can be induced with the help of disciplined meditation under the supervision of an authorized teacher, free of the encumbrance of superfluous ritual procedures. The

adept, once having attained such an understanding, rejects a literal understanding of such classic Buddhist notions as the "Pure-Land," celestial Tathâgatas and bodhisattvas, transference of merit, and so on. The attitude of many Ch'an masters towards the scriptures was much like that of the theologian Bultmann towards the Bible: Ch'an monks were only too willing to discount or "demythologize" whatever failed to accord with the rationalist (if not "scientific") principles revealed in their ineffable mystical apotheosis.

The problem with this popular conception of a vital, unencumbered Pure Ch'an is, among other things, that the historical record simply fails to bear it out. Virtually all of the sources for the traditional conception of Ch'an, upon examination, prove to be unreliable for the purposes of historical reconstruction, either due to their late date and/or their obvious polemic agendas. Early Ch'an histories are first and foremost literary works recording sacred mythology. T. Griffith Foulk has demonstrated that there is no evidence whatsoever of distinctively "Ch'an" institutional forms during the T'ang.[18] The eighth century did see the development of "Ch'an" lineages, but such lineages were not radical iconoclastic movements or even independent schools of Buddhism, nor were they initially conceived of as such. The "ch'an" monks associated with such lineage texts, or with the ideology of "sudden awakening" and the rhetoric of "seeing directly one's own nature," lived and practiced in an institutional and ritual environment no different than monks of other doctrinal persuasions.

If Foulk is correct in concluding that T'ang Ch'an did not develop independent institutional forms, is it then possible to reconstruct the ritual and liturgical environment in which Ch'an ideology grew and flourished? Clearly, such a contextualization of Ch'an rhetoric would take us a long way in removing the obfuscation and mystification characteristic of many treatments of Ch'an thought. If we could demonstrate that medieval Buddhist monasteries -- irrespective of lineage affiliation -- shared a common body of ritual practices, we would have taken a

major step towards understanding the ritual and cosmological landscape in which to situate Ch'an. But is it possible to speak of a "shared ritual culture" with respect to Chinese Buddhism?

A survey of a variety of ritual and liturgical manuals associated with a host of Chinese Buddhist traditions soon reveals a common structure and common concerns. There does indeed seem to have been a generalized ritual culture in Buddhist China -- forms of daily worship, public ceremonials, and intensive retreats were largely the same in the major monastic centers, irrespective of doctrinal affiliation. Dan Stevenson, in his dissertation on Chih-i's "four-fold samâdhi practice," has analyzed a wide array of texts associated primarily with Hsin-hsing, Shan-tao and Chih-i, representing the Three-Stage Sect, Pure-Land, and T'ien-t'ai respectively (Stevenson 1987). Stevenson analyses a total of fifty-four ritual procedures, all of which prove to share a basic structure. The structure, in outline, consists of the following rites:[19]

1. Initial purification -- of oneself and the sanctuary.
2. Initial offerings -- of flowers and incense, followed by praises and prayers.
3. Invitation/invocation of deities.
4. Salutation/veneration -- consisting of prostrations, and praises in the kneeling posture, and occasionally including further invocations.
5. Confession.
6. Dedicatory/vow sequence -- including solicitation of the deity, sympathetic rejoicing, merit transference, vows, etc.
7. Closing refuges and hymns.

In this schematic outline, each segment, or "rite," is best thought of as a place-holder -- the specific content may change from liturgy to liturgy, lineage to lineage. Significantly, although many more liturgical procedures may be inserted into the above sequence, the linear sequence remains more or less fixed. The sequence may thus be understood as governed by "syntactic rules."

Stevenson has done what might be called a morphological analysis of Buddhist rituals.[20] He has isolated a set of "functionally" equiv-

alent rites in a variety of texts, some of which are always present, while others are specific to certain subsets of liturgies. Some rites may be emphasized -- by elaboration, repetition, and so on -- while others may be reduced to mere tokens. But the underlying sequencing of liturgical elements remains constant.

To the extent that major Buddhist devotional rituals of the Sui and early T'ang periods are morphologically similar, we can legitimately talk of Chinese medieval monastic practice in terms of a "shared ritual culture." Monks of various scholastic or institutional affiliations engaged in religious practices which were constructed out of a set of common elements organized according to common syntactic principles. This ritual culture allowed itinerant student monks and foreign pilgrims such as Ennin 圓仁 (794-864) to move from monastery to monastery, adapting with relative ease to new institutional environments. This movement from teacher to teacher, temple to temple, is well-attested in the biographies of Buddhist monks throughout Chinese history.[21]

This is not the place for an extended analysis of the syntax of medieval Chinese ritual, nor for an analysis of its meaning.[22] Suffice to say that there is strong evidence that T'ang Ch'an thought emerged in an institutional and ritual setting more or less typical of major Buddhist monasteries of the period. As we will see below, a significant number of the documents associated with early Ch'an make explicit reference to the invocation of the Buddha's name, as well as to other common forms of monastic worship. The rhetoric of Ch'an -- "an independent transmission outside the teaching, not relying on words or letters, directly pointing to man's mind, seeing original nature and becoming Buddha"[23] -- does not preclude ritual, but rather presupposes it. As Grimes notes in his study of ritual theory: "The supposed absence of ritual in Zen is like the absence of scriptures. The tearing up of the sūtras . . . only has power as a gesture if they are utterly essential, and ritual can be experienced as empty only if one is doing it" (Grimes 1982: 101).

F. Chinese Pure Land Buddhism

Pure Land thought has always been a central feature of Buddhism in China. Chinese Buddhists have, virtually throughout their history, aspired to rebirth in a Pure Land, whether conceived of in metaphorical or literal terms. Not only is such a Pure Land a place of "ease and bliss," but it is also a place wherein one may easily progress along the Buddhist path unencumbered by physical and mental impurity. Final liberation is assured. Gregory Schopen has shown that the desire for rebirth in the Pure Land (sukhâvatî) was an important aspect of Mahâyâna in India as well, though the Pure Land was not necessarily associated with the cult of Amitâbha (Schopen 1977). A careful reading of passages mentioning sukhâvatî in a variety of early Mahâyâna sûtras reveals that "rebirth in sukhâvatî became a generalized religious goal open to the Mahâyâna community as a whole," and this development most likely occurred earlier than the second century A.D. (Schopen 1977: 204).

Pure Land thought was an ubiquitous aspect of Chinese Buddhism virtually from its inception. One of the earliest Indian sûtras to have been translated into Chinese was the Pan-chou san-mei ching 般舟三昧經, translated by Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 in 179 A.D.[24] This early "Pure Land" text details the practice of buddhânusmṛti which leads to a vision of the Buddha before one's very eyes. It was this text which seems to have inspired Hui-yüan and his followers to devote themselves to Amitâbha on Mount Lu, though the later legends that have him founding a "White Lotus Society 白蓮社," the precursor to the later Pure Land school 淨土宗, cannot be dated earlier than mid-T'ang.[25]

Furthermore, we have commentaries on Pure Land scriptures from the hands of monks representing practically every major exegetical tradition or school of Buddhism in China. The wide variety of practices which went under the general rubric of nien-fo are to be found in the ritual manuals of all the principle liturgical traditions. A survey of the Chinese art-historical and archaeological record would further testify

to the central importance of Amitâbha in particular, and the invocation of Buddhas in general. It should not be necessary to belabor the central position occupied by Amitâbha and his Pure Land in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

Yet we are also accustomed to thinking of Pure Land as a particular school in China, a "sect" established through a succession of "patriarchs." As we saw in the example of ch'ung-hsüan Taoism in the last chapter, Western scholars, following the Japanese, have a tendency to read Chinese religious history in terms of sects and lineages, which contributes to the complementary notion that the Chinese are particularly prone to syncretism. In the case of Ch'an, there is an uncritical acceptance of polemic accounts which depict Ch'an as an independent iconoclastic movement -- a movement which rejected ritual practice along with institutional and scriptural authority. In the case of Pure Land, we learn that it was a "popular" movement which sought to make Buddhist practice available to all. Pure Land, being concerned with the needs of those unsuited to ascetic discipline, supposedly rejected "self-power" in favor of "other-power."

The history of the Pure Land school in China, like that of Ch'an, is organized around the biographies and doctrines of a set of "Pure Land patriarchs." In the case of Ch'an, despite the absence of distinctive institutional forms, it is clear that we are dealing with an ideological movement, beginning roughly in the early eighth century, with which individual monks did identify. This identification was signified by associating oneself with a patriarchal lineage as it was construed in eighth-century lineage texts such as the Li-tai fa-pao chi 歷代法寶記 and the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi 楞伽師資記. But in the case of Pure Land the situation is far from clear. How did we come to conceive of Pure Land as an independent sect or movement with its own patriarchal filiation?

The earliest extant collection of biographies of Pure Land devotees can be found in the third chüan of the Ching-t'u lun 淨土論 compiled by Chia-ts'ai 迦才 (b. 627). This text lists the biographies of 20 persons in all: six monks, four nuns, five laymen, and five laywomen (T.1963: 47.97a-100a). The biographies bear witness to the religious fervor of these early practitioners of nien-fo, as well as the miracles which occurred at the time of their death signaling their ascent to the Pure Land.

The Ching-t'u lun seems to have influenced the compilation of the Wang-sheng hsi-fang ching-t'u jui-ying chuan 往生西方淨土瑞應傳, a ninth-century work often referred to as constituting a proto-lineage history of the Pure Land sect.[26] This text is attributed to Wen-shen 文諗 (9th C.) and Shao-k'ang 少康 (d. 805), and consists of the biographies of forty-eight important Pure Land figures, all of whom attained rebirth in the Pure Land. The beginning of the list, which consists solely of "eminent monks," is organized chronologically, starting with Hui-yüan 慧遠 (332-416), T'an-luan 曇鸞 (476-542) and Tao-chen 道珍 and working its way down to Tao-ch'o 道綽 (562-645) and Shan-tao 善導 (613-681). The chronological organization we see at the start of the work breaks down as the figures become more obscure, and the list moves on to pious kings and empresses, women and youths. Most of the figures are noted for their intense practice of nien-fo and the miracles surrounding their death. There is no indication, however, that this Buddhist hagiography was intended to record a lineage of teachers, or even an independent tradition of "Pure Land adepts" within Chinese Buddhism.

The next notable collection of "Pure Land" biographies is the Ching-t'u wang-sheng chuan 淨土往生傳 by Chieh-chu 戒珠 (985-1077), published in 1064 and revised a few decades later (T.2071: 51.108b-126b). But again, this cannot be construed as either a lineage history or a work with a particularly sectarian agenda. Like the Wang-sheng hsi-fang ching-t'u jui-ying chuan only considerably larger, this is a collection of biographies of monks who aspired and attained rebirth in the Pure

Land. The collection includes a variety of eminent monks, including Nan-yüeh Hui-ssu 南岳慧思 (515-576), T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, and a number of other major T'ien-t'ai figures.[27]

The Sung saw the development of Pure Land retrospective lineage histories in direct emulation of their Ch'an counterparts (which in turn were composed along the lines of earlier T'ien-t'ai models). Tsung-hsiao 宗曉 (d. 1214) compiled the Lo-pang wen-lei 樂邦文類 in 1200, in which he records the biographies of the "five dharma teachers in the succession of patriarchs of the Lotus society 蓮社繼祖五大法師傳," namely Shan-tao, Fa-chao 法照 (d. 822), Shao-k'ang 少康 (d. 806), Sheng-ch'ang 省常 (fl. 990) and Tsung-tse (d.u.), author of the Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei. In addition, Hui-yüan is, apparently for the first time, deemed the "Founding Patriarch" (shih-tsu 始祖) of the Lotus Society.[28] And the Fo-tsu t'ung-chi 佛祖統紀, completed in 1271 by Chih-p'an 志磐 (fl. 1258-1269), includes a list of seven Pure Land patriarchs: Hui-yüan, Shan-tao, Ch'eng-yüan 承遠 (711-802), Fa-chao, Shao-k'ang, Yen-shou and Sheng-ch'ang.[29] The final stage in the Chinese construction of a lineage of Pure Land masters is undertaken by a Ming monk, Ta-yu 大佑, who omitted Hui-yüan and added Tsung-tse, preserving a total of seven patriarchs (Shih 1984: 203).

The popular conception of the "Pure Land School" in China as presented in modern Western works can be traced not so much to these Sung historical documents, but rather to the development of a truly sectarian form of Pure Land practice in Japan. In the Ruiju gosoden 類聚五祖傳 Hônen 法然 (1133-1212) enumerates "five patriarchs of Chinese Pure Land," namely T'an-luan, Tao-ch'o, Shan-tao, Huai-kan 懷感 (d. ca. 689) and Shao-k'ang.[30] Finally, we have a list devised by Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1262) whose line of succession comprised seven masters in all, Nâgârjuna, Vasubandhu, T'an-luan, Tao-ch'o, Shan-tao, Genshin 源信 (942-1017), and Hônen. It is well known that both Hônen and Shinran strove in such lists to define and legitimize orthodoxy for their Pure Land traditions. They gradually eliminated those whose teachings did not

unequivocally denounce reliance upon "self-power" (such as Ch'eng-yüan or Yen-shou, both associated with Ch'an lineages), and at the same time they reached back into Indian history claiming the early saints of the Mahâyâna as their own.

We can, I believe without further argument, put aside the later Japanese sectarian histories -- they are of limited value when it comes to evaluating the historical situation in China. To return to Sung China, it is significant that the compilers of both the Lo-pang wen-lei and the Fo-tsu t'ung-chi, as well as Ta-yu, were T'ien-t'ai monks who viewed Pure Land practice as one path within the broad framework of T'ien-t'ai soteriology. Furthermore, two of the "Pure Land patriarchs" mentioned in the Fo-tsu t'ung-chi, Ch'eng-yüan and Yen-shou, are considered Ch'an monks in a variety of other works. Once again, there is no indication that such "patriarchs" were considered the founders of a sect in any exclusive sense. There is no consistent attempt to structure the Pure Land lineages around "transmission" in an unbroken line from master to disciple; indeed hundreds of years separate Hui-yüan from Shan-tao, the first two figures on both the T'ien-t'ai lists. These eminent monks are "patriarchs" in the sense that they are exemplary models of faith and devotion who played a fundamental role in the spread of devotion to Amitâbha and use of nien-fo. There is simply no indication that any of the purported Pure Land patriarchs saw themselves as establishing an independent school of Buddhism, or that they established independent institutional structures for the practice and promulgation of their teachings.

We can now understand the confusion of Jan Yün-hua, who notes that figures from virtually every major sect were eminent figures in the history of Pure-land. Jan comments: "Though it looks rather strange but it is a fact that the rival sectarian historians and monks of Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai sects made a compromise in the field of Pure-land history" (Jan 1964: 373). I would suggest, rather, that such a compromise between rival sects was quite unnecessary: all such sects are anupalabdhi

(pu-k'o-te 不可得) -- they exist only in the minds of later scholars and historians.

G. Contemplation of the Buddha (Nien-fo) and Ch'an

Faith in Amitâbha was an ubiquitous feature of Chinese Buddhism, and desire for rebirth in the Pure Land was virtually universal among practitioners of all denominations. The practice most closely associated with Pure Land thought is nien-fo (buddhânusmṛti), a cover term for a wide variety of practices, extending from a single utterance of the name of a Buddha, often Amitâbha, to an extended ritual involving chanting, visualization and prostration. Thus the term can be translated, depending upon the context, as "recollection of the Buddha," "contemplation of the Buddha," "recitation of the name[s] of the Buddha," "invocation of the Buddha," and so on.[31] Many nien-fo practices are associated with granting the aspirant a vision of Amitâbha in this life, and/or assuring that he will receive this vision at the time of death. But in China, a more rarefied, "de-mythologized" understanding of nien-fo is as old as the practice itself, and we would be wrong to assume that the more "literal" understanding of the mechanism of nien-fo and the status of the Pure Land is historically earlier or doctrinally more "orthodox."

In various forms nien-fo was a central aspect of the Chinese Buddhist dhyâna tradition, and many of the early Pure Land "patriarchs" mentioned above, including Tao-ch'o and Shan-tao, are described as "meditation masters" (ch'an shih 禪師) in early biographies, or placed in the "practitioners of meditation" (hsi-ch'an 習禪) sections of T'ang hagiographical collections.[32] Investigation of texts associated with the Northern and Szechwan schools of Ch'an confirms that nien-fo was an integral aspect of monastic practice in China. This includes monasteries associated with teachers in what later became the orthodox Ch'an "patriarchal lineage."

Some scholars have suggested otherwise, drawing attention to passages belittling Pure Land practices in Northern Ch'an texts. We have already drawn attention to passages in the PTL and the Chüeh-kuan lun attacking the practice of nien-fo (chapter 1 section F). The Hsiu-hsin yao lun 修心要論, a text traditionally attributed to the fifth patriarch, contains the following exchange:

> Question: Why is it said that one's own mind is superior to mindfulness of the Buddha 念彼佛? Answer: One cannot escape from the rounds of life and death by constantly being mindful of the Buddha. Only by constantly maintaining awareness of your own original mind can you reach the other shore.[33]

McRae comments: "This section is obviously directed against the Pure Land practice of nien-fo" (1986: 315). But this is not as obvious as it first seems. The passage may be directed against a particular understanding of nien-fo, rather than against nien-fo practice per se. Ideologically the passage may be of a kind with the Ch'an injunction to burn the scriptures and kill the patriarchs. Such passages are not to be taken literally -- Ch'an monastic life is now, and has always been, preoccupied with chanting scriptures and worshipping patriarchs. Rather, passages disparaging nien-fo, or the scriptures and patriarchs, are cautions against forms of attachment which would be particularly intransigent in the monastic community. Such injunctions are not against specific forms of worship, but against the reification of the objects of such worship.

A superficial reading of the teachings of the fourth patriarch Tao-hsin 道信 (580-651), as recorded in the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi 楞伽師資記, would seem to support a negative valuation of Pure Land practices and nien-fo among Northern Ch'an teachers:

> [Question:] "How is it possible to attain understanding of the characteristics of dharma, and to purify the mind?" [Tao-]hsin said: "Not by contemplating the Buddha 念佛, nor by seizing the mind, nor by observing the mind, nor by calculating thought, nor by deliberation, nor by the practice of discernment, nor by being scattered and confused. Just allow things to go naturally 任運".[34]

And again:

> Question: "In the coming moment 臨時, how does one practice discernment?" Hsin said: "You must just allow things to go naturally." Question: "Should one turn in the direction of the West [facing the Pure Land] or not?" Hsin said: "If you understand that the mind originally neither arises nor passes away, that it is ultimately pure, this is the pure Buddha land. There is no further necessity to face West." (T.2837: 85.1287c7-10; Yanagida 1971: 213-14)

Yet we find other passages in the same text, also ascribed to the same Tao-hsin, which support a different conclusion:

> Do not grasp hold of appearances, but bind the mind to one Buddha, and exclusively invoke his name. Wherever the Buddha may be, straighten the body and face in that direction. If you are able to continually contemplate this one Buddha, in the midst of your contemplation you will be able to see all the Buddhas of past, present, and future. Why? The merit of contemplating one Buddha is immeasurable and boundless. (T.2837: 85.1286c28-1287a2; Yanagida 1971: 186)

> Contemplate the Buddha 念佛 continuously in each moment of thought. Suddenly there will be clarity and serenity, without any object of contemplation. The Larger Prajñâpâramitâ Sûtra says: "No object of contemplation 無所念者 is called contemplating the Buddha."[35] What is meant by no object of contemplation? This very mind which is contemplating the Buddha is called no object of contemplation. Apart from mind there is no separate Buddha, apart from Buddha there is no separate mind. To contemplate the Buddha is to contemplate the mind. To seek the mind is to seek the Buddha. Why so? Consciousness has no form, and the Buddha has no outer appearance. To understand this principle is to bring peace to the mind. With constant contemplation of the Buddha there is no grasping at objects -- everything is utterly without marks, equal and non-dual. (T.2837: 85.1287a9-15; Yanagida 1971: 192)

The Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi strongly indicates that the community around Tao-hsin practiced nien-fo. Indeed, the extended instructions on this topic suggest that nien-fo was a central practice among his disciples. But Tao-hsin cautions his students against conceiving of the Pure Land or the Buddha in a dualistic manner. The object of the contemplation is ultimately mind itself, and the Pure Land to be attained is the fundamental purity of mind.

Similarly, the Kuan-hsin lun 觀心論, which current scholarship attributes to Shen-hsiu, distinguishes between the empty recitation of the Buddha's name, and true contemplation.[36]

> Question: What about the sûtra teaching that if you wholeheartedly contemplate the Buddha 至心念佛 you will certainly attain liberation? Answer: When it comes to contemplation of the Buddha, you must make correct contemplation your rule, and not understand it falsely. Correct contemplation will certainly yield re-birth in the Pure Land, but how could false contemplation lead one there? "Buddha" means "awakening." This means to awaken and penetrate the source of mind, and not allow evil to arise. "Contemplation" means "reflect upon." This is to firmly maintain the practice of morality and not to forget to diligently seek to understand the Tathâgata's teaching. This is called "correct contemplation." Therefore understand that contemplation resides in the mind, not in words. You use a fish trap to catch fish, and when you have the fish you can forget about the trap. You use words to get at the meaning[37] and when you have grasped the meaning you can forget about the words. To praise contemplation of the Buddha is to say that one must practice the very essence of contemplation of the Buddha. If the mind is not true, the mouth will utter vacuous words, and the contemplation will be wasted effort. (T.2833: 85.1273a5-13)

The text does not say to abandon nien-fo. On the contrary, it spends considerable time elucidating the proper attitude towards what was apparently an important feature of monastic life.

The Ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men 達磨禪師觀門, another early Ch'an document recovered at Tun-huang, declares the value of nien-fo practice in no uncertain terms. After an exposition of the seven discernment-gates of Ch'an, the text says:

> The invocation of the Buddha in a loud voice 大聲念佛 will bring ten kinds of merit: (1) evil voices will not be heard; (2) your invocation of the Buddha will not be scattered; (3) it eliminates sleepiness; (4) it brings courage and energy; (5) it pleases all the devas; (6) it scares away demons; (7) your voice will stir the ten directions; (8) it eliminates suffering; (9) all samâdhis appear before you; (10) rebirth is attained in the Pure Land.[38]

But we need not rely solely upon interpretation of doctrinal tracts to demonstrate that monks associated with early T'ang Ch'an were

involved with Pure Land practices. The Ch'üan fa-pao chi 傳法寶紀, one of the earliest "Ch'an lineage histories," explicitly states that the fifth-patriarch Hung-jen along with others of his generation taught a form of nien-fo: "Coming to the generation of [Hung-]jen, [Fa-]ju and Ta-tung, the dharma-door was wide open to followers, regardless of their capacities. All immediately invoked the name of the Buddha, so as to purify the mind."[39] This is substantiated by the fact that nien-fo is associated with a number of disciples of the fifth patriarch, including Fa-ch'ih 法持 (635-702), also known as the fourth patriarch of the Ox-head school.[40] Finally, we find unambiguous evidence of nien-fo practice among Northern Ch'an practitioners in the Ta-ch'eng wu-sheng fang-pien men 大乘無生方便門, another Tun-huang text associated with Shen-hsiu. This document is particularly important in that it begins with a record of a public precept ceremony, followed by a lecture on the dharma.[41] At one point in the ceremony the assembly, following the lead of the preceptor, practices a period of nien-fo together 一時念佛 (T.2834: 85.1273c3).

The Ch'an which flourished at a number of monastic centers in Szechwan also seems to have placed a strong emphasis upon nien-fo, as three lineages are recorded to have emphasized invocation of the Buddha -- the Ching-chung 淨衆 school associated with Wu-hsiang, as well as the lineages of Ch'eng-yüan 承遠 (712-802) and Hsüan-shih 宣什.[42] Wu-hsiang is noteworthy for the elaborate ordination ceremony called k'ai-yüan 開緣 which he administered on a regular basis. The ceremony is recorded by Tsung-mi in his Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (Kamata 1971: 305), as well as in the Li-tai fa-pao chi. The description in the latter text is as follows:

> Reverend Kim [Wu-hsiang], in the first and twelfth months of every year, would administer the precepts for the sake of thousands of monks, nuns, and lay people. He would prepare and adorn the sanctuary 道場 and then discourse upon the Dharma from the high seat. First he taught the nien-fo wherein one drew out the sound to the point of exhausting a single breath. When the sound died down and thoughts ceased he said: "No remembering, no thought, no forgetting. No remembering is morality, no thought is concentra-

tion, no forgetting is wisdom. These three phrases are the dhâraṇî gate."[43]

Ch'eng-yüan, a disciple of Wu-hsiang, may well have taught nien-fo since two of his disciples did. One of them, Fa-chao, composed the Ching-t'u fa-shen tsan 淨土法身讚 which proclaims the identity of "no-thought 無念" and the invocation of the Buddha. This is yet another way of saying that "ch'an" practice and nien-fo are one and the same -- the goal of the Pure Land is to be found nowhere but in the mind.[44]

Hsüan-shih, also active in the Szechwan area, is reported by Tsung-mi to have been a disciple of the fifth patriarch (Kamata 1971: 289). Like Wu-hsiang, he practiced an ordination ceremony which included a Ch'an transmission and nien-fo recitation.[45] Tsung-mi refers to this school in his Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao 圓覺經大疏鈔, as the "Nien-fo-ch'an lineage of South Mountain" (Nan-shan nien-fo ch'an-tsung 南山念佛禪宗) which specialized in the transmission of incense and the preservation of the Buddha 存佛. The ceremony is described as follows:

> The "preservation of Buddha" means that, when transmitting the dharma, [the teacher] first discourses upon the dharma gate of the principle of the way and the [proper] intent for cultivating practice. Then the Buddha is invoked as a single word 一字念佛. First the sound of the invocation is protracted, and then gradually the voice becomes increasingly subtle until there is no sound at all, whereupon the Buddha has been moved [from sound] to ideation 意. But this ideation is still coarse. [The Buddha] is then moved to mind 心, abiding in each and every moment of thought 想. The Buddha then remains within the mind constantly until one reaches the point of no-thought and attains the way.[46]

Our sources for early Ch'an consist primarily of manuscripts recovered at Tun-huang supplemented by the surviving works of Tsung-mi. Both sources attest to the fact that monks associated with the growth of Ch'an ideology in the eighth century engaged in various forms of nien-fo, as well as other ritualized forms of worship and meditation typical of medieval Chinese Buddhist monasteries. When we approach the monastic life of the late T'ang however, historical reconstruction is hampered by a lack of reliable documentation. Virtually all of the surviving texts

associated with the Ch'an masters of the "golden age" -- the Yü-lu or "Recorded Sayings" of Ma-tsu and his successors -- were edited during the Sung. The Sung redactors had a vested interest in propagating the myth of T'ang Ch'an as an independent iconoclastic movement which followed its own rule (the so called "Pai-chang code" 百丈清規). Thus the "recorded sayings" are of limited value in reconstructing the practices of the T'ang monks whose lives they document. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the elaborate ritual and liturgical practices characteristic of Chinese Buddhist monastic life did not continue on as before. Ch'an iconoclastic rhetoric is parasitic upon a highly ritualized lifestyle.

Despite the Sung efforts to consolidate the myth of a pure T'ang Ch'an, the records of Sung monastic institutions themselves show little attempt to reproduce the supposed iconoclasm and anti-ritualism of their predecessors. By the Sung the vast majority of monastic establishments were affiliated with an official "Ch'an lineage," i.e., the abbots traced their own ordination line back through Hui-neng and Bodhidharma to Śâkyamuni. But such affiliation did not entail dropping the full panoply of practices which we see in earlier T'ang institutions. The most compelling evidence is to be found in the earliest extant monastic codes which explicitly identify themselves as "Ch'an." Codes such as the Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei 禪苑清規 (1103) and the Ju-chung jih-yung ch'ing-kuei 入衆日用清規 (1209) offer us a tremendously rich and detailed glimpse into the day to day functioning of medieval Buddhist monasteries.[47] And the regular use of nien-fo is seen throughout both these works.

The Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei proved to be the single most influential medieval Ch'an monastic code in both China and Japan. As I mentioned above, the Lo-pang wen-lei proclaims its author, Tsung-tse, to be the last of five patriarchs of the Lotus Society lineage. We learn that he was not only active in proselytizing, but that he also founded a "Lotus Society" (lien-hua sheng-hui 蓮華勝會) to promote the universal

cultivation of the _samâdhi_ of the recollection of the Buddha (_nien-fo san-mei_). He taught a practice through which one could attain birth in the Pure Land "by reciting the name of Amitâbha up to ten thousand times a day, recording each recitation with a cross."[48]

The _Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei_ contains a number of casual references to _nien-fo_. The recitation of the names of the ten Buddhas is incorporated into the ceremonies preceding meals,[49] and _nien-fo_ is also mentioned in conjunction with the ceremonial reading of the sûtras at the request of a patron (Kagashima et al. 1972: 207). As one would expect, _nien-fo_ was used at various stages in the funerals of both common monks and abbots. The _Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei_ explicitly mentions the recitation of Amitâbha's name ten times in conjunction with monastic funerals, and during the elaborate funeral rites following the death of an abbot, the invocations of Amitâbha's name is followed by the distribution of "_nien-fo_ cash 念佛錢" (Kagashima et al. 1972: 239 and 261). Finally, at the end of the funeral for a monk, after the sale of his robes, the following announcement is made:

> "May all the merit accrued from the preceding invocations performed by the assembly and the [sale] of the robes [of the deceased monk] be transferred to the deceased and assist his awakened spirit to attain birth in the Pure Land. I trouble the assembly to once again invoke all the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three worlds." Thereupon everyone sincerely invokes the Buddhas, without any frivolous joking around or horse play. 上來大衆念誦并唱衣物功德 並用廻向歿故某人資助覺靈往生淨土 再煩大衆念十方三世一切諸佛 並以志誠念佛 不得戲笑語話乖角 (Kagashima et al. 1974: 246).

The _Ju-chung jih-yung_ also mentions _nien-fo_ in a number of different contexts. The instructions for folding the cassock 袈裟 includes the warning: "don't occupy the center of the hall and block the passage of the officers, and do not recite the _nien-fo_ out loud [so as to disturb the assembly]" (ZZ.111.472b15-16). And, as found in the _Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei_, _nien-fo_ is incorporated into the pre-meal ceremonies (ZZ.111.472d8).

We see that, despite shifts in ideology and rhetorical conventions brought about by the popularity of Ch'an, ritual and ceremonial life in Sung China remains essentially "conservative." This gave rise to what appeared to be a tension between the iconoclastic ideal and the actual ritual reality of monastic life. Sung apologists and scholastics responded to this tension by rationalizing the widespread use of Pure Land and tantric liturgy and ritual in Ch'an lineage institutions. The writings of such monks have contributed in no small way to the view of Sung and post-Sung Buddhism as syncretic.

The prolific Sung monk Yung-ming Yen-shou is typical in this regard. He is considered a paragon of the syncretism of Pure Land and Ch'an Buddhism, and is listed as both the third patriarch of the Fa-yen lineage 法眼宗 of Ch'an, as well as the sixth patriarch of Pure Land in the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*.[50] Known as an ardent practitioner of *nien-fo*, Yen-shou was simultaneously a tireless advocate of Ch'an claims. He is thus considered to have laid the foundation for the kind of Buddhism predominant in China down to the present century.

Yet a cursory examination of the biographies and voluminous writings of Yen-shou reveals that he was involved in the entire spectrum of medieval Buddhist monastic practices.[51] The *Chih-chüeh ch'an-shih tzu-hsing lu* 智覺禪師自行錄 by Wen-ch'ung 文冲 records the 108 practices performed daily by Yen-shou (ZZ.111.77b-84d). They include the recitation of a number of Mahâyâna scriptures, including the *Lotus*, *Hua-yen*, *Ratnakûṭa*, *Mahâprajñâpâramitâ*, and the *Heart Sûtra*, the performance of the *Fa-hua* 法華 repentance, recitation of *dhâraṇî*, worship of a variety of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, releasing living beings (*fang-sheng* 放生), feeding hungry ghosts, *nien-fo*, sitting meditation (*tso-ch'an* 坐禪) and exegetical writing (Shih 1984: 150-167). Each of these practices was undertaken, according to the *Tzu-hsing lu*, with the intent to benefit and liberate all sentient beings.

In the preface to his monumental compilation, the Tsung-ching lu, Yen-shou explains his approach:

> I will now examine in detail the orthodox doctrine of the sûtras and treatises [which record] the great teaching of the patriarchs and Buddhas. I will eschew ornate writing and investigate only the essentials, making use of [the rhetorical device of] questions and answers to draw out clarity, raising the One-mind as the principle 宗 which illuminates all dharmas like a mirror 鏡. (T.2016: 48.417a19-21)

Yen-shou's exegetical approach -- understanding all Buddhist doctrines as pointing in the direction of, or exemplifying, the principle of "one-mind" -- is evidenced throughout the Tsung-ching lu. In both dialectical form as well as substance, this interpretative strategy is virtually identical with the earlier methods of exegesis in which all forms are understood as mere fingers pointing to the one moon -- mind itself. Japanese scholars have referred to this technique, typical of the many Northern Ch'an texts mentioned above, as "contemplative analysis" (Kanjin-shaku 觀心釋). This method consists in approaching "each line of scripture as a function or component of the 'contemplation of the principle of the True Characteristic of One Mind.'"[52] Yen-shou, though quite unoriginal, is perhaps more dogged in his application of this technique than many earlier writers.

Like his predecessors, Yen-shou insists that the Pure Land is to be sought only in the mind. This is referred to as "Mind-only Pure Land" (wei-hsin ching-t'u 唯心淨土) which he explains as follows:

> Know that if you become conscious of mind, you will be born into the Pure Land of Mind-only, but if you are attached to external objects, you will fall into the midst of those objects with which you associate. If you are clear that there is no difference between cause and effect, you will know that outside of mind there is no dharma.[53]

The Buddhas which appear to the practitioner of nien-fo, as well as the Buddhas which manifest to the Pure Land devotee at death, are a manifestation of the dharmakâya, and not other than mind. Nien-fo is an effec-

tive upâya for those of inferior faculties, but the ultimate goal is the illumination of mind (T.2016: 48.506a; Shih 1984: 213-214.) For Yen-shou, the nien-fo is but one way towards the apprehension of śûnyatâ, and to have attained birth in the Pure Land is to have consummated the bodhisattva vows.

> The Treatise on Rebirth (Wang-sheng lun 往生論) says: "Those who are able to roam freely in hell are those who have been born in the [Pure] Land and obtained "patience of no-birth." They then return to the realm of birth and death in order to teach and transform [those in] the hell realm, and to save suffering sentient beings. It is for this reason that they seek to be born in the Pure Land." (T.2017: 48.966c16-19)

Yen-shou is drawing upon a style of exegesis already centuries old. He argues that the Mahâyâna doctrine of the identity of the Buddha and one's own mind, which had become the linchpin of Ch'an exegetics, in no way mitigates against the practice of nien-fo. The realization that the Pure Land is identical with Mind does not render the Pure Land a mere metaphor, somehow less substantial than the real world of the here and now. Nor does the Buddhist monk abandon desire for birth in the Pure Land upon realizing the identity of Pure Land and Mind. On the contrary, his desire to "save all beings" is fulfilled precisely through such rebirth.

In scroll after scroll Yen-shou makes the same point: Ch'an ideology correctly understood is not antagonistic to nien-fo practice. A particularly lucid statement of this tenet can be found in the records of Yung-chüeh Yüan-hsien 永覺元賢 (1578-1657), considered by later historians to be a "spiritual descendent" of Yen-shou:

> There are two aspects with regard to the faith in the Buddha's words. One is faith in the "principle" 理; the other is faith in the "phenomenal" 事. Faith in the principle means to believe that one's mind is the Pure Land and one's Nature is Buddha Amitâbha. Faith in the phenomenal means to believe that the Pure Land is in the Western Region, and there exists Buddha Amitâbha. From the aspect of the principle, the aspect of the phenomenal manifests. It is like the ocean-seal's ability to manifest myriad phenomena. From the aspect of the phenomenal, the aspect of the principle

manifests, for the myriad phenomena are inseparable from the ocean-seal. These two aspects of faith are both one and two, yet neither one nor two. To have faith in this manner is called true faith.[54]

H. "Ch'an Pure Land" or Simply "Pure Land"?

We have seen the extent to which Ch'an teachers were associated with nien-fo practices throughout the medieval period. At the same time, numerous passages in Ch'an documents caution against a crudely literal or simple-minded understanding of Pure Land teachings. The Pure Land, we are told over and over again, is the original purity of one's own mind -- it must be sought "here and now." To understand this is to realize the goal of nien-fo -- to "see the Buddha." Chanting the Buddha's name is but one method of coming to understand the emptiness of conceptual structures.

We might suppose that this is a Ch'an reinterpretation of Pure Land teachings, but such is certainly not the case. On the contrary, a survey of a variety of Mahâyâna works reveals that such an understanding of the Pure Land can claim doctrinal orthodoxy. Indeed, it is difficult to find a Mahâyâna scripture which does not explicitly support this understanding of the Pure Land.

The opening chapter of the Vimalakîrti Sûtra, entitled "Purification of the Buddha-fields," concerns the proper understanding of a Buddha-field (buddhakṣetra). A Buddha-field is that realm where "a Tathâgata, a holy one, fully and perfectly enlightened, is to be found, lives, exists and teaches the Law, for the benefit and happiness of the great body of beings, men and gods."[55] The practice of all aspiring bodhisattvas, i.e., the community of Mahâyâna faithful, is described in a variety of Mahâyâna sources in terms of purifying their Buddha-field to create a Pure Land. Amitâbha's sukhâvatî is, of course, the paradigmatic purified Buddha-field.

Although sources enumerate three classes of Buddha-fields -- pure, impure, and mixed -- Mahâyâna texts are clear that all such differences are illusory. The Pañcaviṃśatisâhasrikâ, the Śatasâhasrikâ, the Lotus, and the Laṅkâvatâra, to mention just a few, all affirm the purity of this very world, despite appearances otherwise to those whose eyes are blinded by ignorance (Lamotte 1976: 279). The first chapter of the Vimalakîrti is perhaps the clearest articulation of this most basic Buddhist doctrine: "If a bodhisattva desires to attain the Pure Land he must purify his own mind. In so far as his mind is pure, the Buddha-land is pure" (T.475: 14.538c).[56]

Nor were Ch'an exegetes the first in China to emphasize this reading of Mahâyâna scriptures. Seng-chao affirms the identity of the Pure Land and Mind in his Chu wei-mo-chieh ching 註維摩詰經, the earliest extant Chinese commentary to the Vimalakîrti.[57] Seng-chao explains that the distinction between purity and defilement is an illusion -- all Buddha-fields are empty, and interpenetrate each other.[58]

In an article on Chinese Buddhist interpretations of the Pure Land, David Chappell highlights the importance of both Seng-chao and Ching-ying Hui-yüan 淨影慧遠 (523-592), neither of whom is considered an advocate of Pure Land practices by the later tradition (Chappell 1977). Nonetheless, the Pure Land figures heavily in the writings of both. Hui-yüan's elaborate scholastic analysis of the status of Buddha-lands follows classical Mahâyâna and explicitly Mâdhyamika principles, drawing upon the Vimalakîrtinirdeśa-sûtra, the Mahâparinirvâṇa-sûtra, the Buddha-avataṃsaka-sûtra, and upon treatises such as the Ta-chih-tu lun. His most systematic treatment of the Pure Land is to be found in his Ta-ch'eng i-chang 大乘義章 (T.1851), in which he affirms that various Buddha-lands may appear different to those of differing capacities, but they are in essence the same, and therefore "all Buddha-lands are in fact but one Buddha-land, and one is all" (T.1851: 44.835c15-16). Quoting from the Shih-ti-ching lun 十地經論 Hui-yüan says: "Although we

know that the various Buddha-lands are empty, yet we still practice the discernment of the lands of immeasurable adornments."[59]

Chappell goes on to analyze the Pure Land thought of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, who follows the pattern of Seng-chao and Ching-ying Hui-yüan in distinguishing between "ultimate" and "contingent." Chih-i distinguishes between the True Land (chen-t'u 眞土) and the Response Land (ying-t'u 應土), principle (li 理) and phenomena (shih 事), the source (pen 本) and the traces (chi 迹).[60] The Pure Land is ultimately none other than this very world seen from the perspective of awakened wisdom. Ultimately the Pure Land is the dharmakâya, and it is only from the perspective of contingent truth that we distinguish many varieties of Pure Lands with differing attributes.

Clearly, an upâyic analysis of the Pure Land, in which the Pure Land is understood as mind itself, did not originate with Ch'an. Moreover, even the Chinese "Pure Land patriarchs" deemed orthodox by the later Japanese Pure Land monks, resisted any simple literalistic understanding of the Pure Land. The exegesis of T'an-luan, Tao-ch'o and Shan-tao is consistently structured around the rhetoric of śûnyatâ and yogâcâra epistemology.

T'an-luan, who may be as much a Taoist as a Buddhist master,[61] did not engage in the kind of classification characteristic of Hui-yüan or Chih-i, wherein the distinctions between the Pure Land and this world ultimately collapse. But he did emphasize that sukhâvatî is "transcendental" -- outside the triple realm of saṃsâra (kuo san-chieh 過三界). Commenting on a passage from the Ta-chih-tu lun 大智度論 (T.1509: 25.340a20-21) in his commentary to the Ching-t'u lun, T'an-luan says:

> The Shih lun [釋論, i.e., the Ta-chih-tu lun 大智度論] says: "This Pure Land is not subsumed within the three realms" [T.1509: 25.340a20-21]. Why does it say so? Since [the Pure Land] is without desire, it is not a realm of desire. Since there is ground on which to stand 地居 it is not a world of form 色界.

> Since there is form it is not a formless world. . . Its existence is extraphenomenal 出有而有 and we call it subtle 微.[62]

T'an-luan's commentary further affirms the standard tenet of Mahâyâna epistemology and soteriology. Quoting from the Kuan wu-liang shou ching T'an-luan says:

> All Buddhas and Tathâgatas are the bodies of the dharma-realm 法界身. They enter into the minds and thoughts of all sentient beings. Therefore, when you are thinking of the Buddha, this very mind is identical with the thirty-two major and eighty minor marks [of the Buddha]. This mind produces the Buddha 作佛; this mind is the Buddha. (T.1819: 40.832a8-11)

T'an-luan goes on to declare, quite unambiguously: "It is the mind which is able to produce the Buddha. This mind is the Buddha; outside the mind there is no Buddha" (T.1819: 40.832a24-25). It is hard to imagine a more typically "ch'annish" understanding of the Pure Land, yet this comes from the brush of an early sixth-century monk whose Pure Land orthodoxy is unquestioned by later Jôdo and Shin priests in Japan. But there is more involved in T'an-luan than any simple reduction of the Pure Land to mind. According to T'an-luan, the Pure Land adept is transformed at death into a dharma-body called the "dharma-body which is everywhere equal and the same" (p'ing-teng fa-shen 平等法身), and through the power of the pao-sheng samâdhi 報生三昧, such a bodhisattva is instantly able to manifest in innumerable universes, making offerings to the Buddhas of the ten directions and their assemblies without, however, ever moving from the Pure Land.[63] Once again this appears to be an application of Mâdhyamika principles to the Pure Land: samsâra, in so far as it is empty, is of the same ontic status as nirvâna. The Pure Land is the realm of samsâra seen from the vantage point of awakening. Birth in the Pure Land is the attainment of nirvâna, with the caveat that the bodhisattva who attains such birth can, in accordance with his vows, return to samsâra. The image is that of Prabhûtaratna from chapter 11 of the Lotus, dwelling in eternal samâdhi within his magnificent stûpa. He has attained final extinction (parinirvâna), and yet has not left the world of sentient beings.

A similar analysis of the Pure Land can be found in the works of Tao-ch'o and Shan-tao.[64] Each of these monks differ in their analysis of details, but affirm the principle of the two truths, which they pursue to the inevitable end -- the Pure Land is ultimately upâya and must not be construed as other than a mental production. Far from advocating any "simple" repetition of Amitâbha's name, both Tao-ch'o and Shan-tao, like Chih-i and others in the T'ien-t'ai tradition, emphasize a rigorous extended invocation practice with the aim of achieving a samâdhi wherein one gains a vision of Amitâbha. Shan-tao is the author of a number of liturgical and ritual manuals (T.1979, T.1980, T.1981) which are structured identically to other major Buddhist liturgies of his day, irrespective of doctrinal affiliation (Stevenson 1987).

It would seem that we are forced to abandon not only the notion of a distinctive, self-conscious, Pure Land school comprised of a lineage of patriarchs, but also the idea of a distinctive Pure Land understanding of Buddhist soteriology. Nien-fo practice, coupled with hope for rebirth in the Pure Land, is a central feature of Chinese monasticism irrespective of doctrinal affiliation. The exegetes who devoted their energies to an analysis of the Pure Land differed significantly on many issues, giving rise to a host of scholastic controversies. (Is Amitâbha a nirmâṇakâya Buddha or a saṃbhogakâya Buddha? Is Amitâbha's life-span eternal or not? And so on.) But all agreed upon essentials, and none opted for the simple "other-power" analysis of nien-fo efficacy that makes its way into so many modern textbook presentations.[65]

And most important in the present context, the "Ch'an" interpretation of the Pure Land characteristic of Sung and post-Sung Chinese Buddhism does not constitute a radical departure from the doctrines of T'an-luan, Tao-ch'o, Shan-tao, Hui-yüan, and other earlier exegetes. On larger issues, such as the ontology of the Pure Land and the efficacy of nien-fo, there is fundamental agreement. There was simply no need for a Ch'an-Pure Land synthesis on the level of doctrine or practice. The claim that the Ch'an school "read its presuppositions into the Pure Land

tradition so as to synthesize Pure Land teachings with its own" (Ingram: 1973: 185) misconstrues the relationship between practice and ideological rhetoric in China. The Ch'an movement, reworking classical Mâdhyamika rhetorical forms, used the term "ch'an" as a rhetorical weapon subjecting all to the dialectic of upâya. But the use of such dialectic by a Chinese monk in and of itself tells us little about his actual monastic discipline.

It is possible to criticize extremes of Ch'an rhetoric as tending to denigrate the conventional in favor of the ultimate. Ch'an ideology carries with it the danger of "falling into the pit of emptiness" -- striving to attain a reified emptiness by rejecting form (scripture, ritual, institutions, and so on). It is true that Ch'an thought lends itself to such bastardization, as we see today in the works of Alan Watts, the rash of "Zen in the Art of . . . " books, and the adjectival use of the word "Zen" to mean anything from "minimalist" to "inscrutable." Such a reading of Ch'an or Zen texts is accomplished only by wrenching Ch'an rhetoric out of its cultural, institutional, and liturgical context. Medieval Ch'an documents such as the Platform Sûtra, the Recorded Sayings Texts (yü-lu 語録), and kung-an collections, demand re-contextualization in order to understand their religious significance. They cannot be read simply as descriptive or prescriptive of Buddhist practice.

I. The Essentialist Fallacy

We have argued that it is misleading to construe later Chinese Buddhism as some form of syncretism, or accommodation, between Ch'an and Pure Land. We noted that neither Ch'an nor Pure Land had any independent status before their purported "synthesis." Ch'an never was an independent school in China, but was rather a mode of exegesis which incorporated the myth of independent mind-to-mind transmission. By Sung times, Ch'an ideology came to dominate monastic Buddhism in China, and

most monks would ordain in a lineage which claimed to trace itself back through Hui-neng to Bodhidharma and the Buddha. Pure Land, for its part, was an ubiquitous aspect of Chinese Buddhist practice and belief. Some monks chose to specialize in nien-fo recitation over the many other available disciplines. The biographies of exemplary practitioners of nien-fo who were known to have attained birth in the Pure Land were occasionally collected and published, and the truly great figures were deemed "patriarchs" by Sung historians. But there never was a Pure Land sect, school or transmission in China, or even a distinctively "Pure Land" interpretation of the Pure Land. The term "syncretism" is therefore misleading.

In a somewhat different context Alan Grapard has made a similar point in reference to Japanese religious history (Grapard 1984). Scholars have tended to brand certain Japanese religious doctrines "syncretic" -- they are purported to be a blend or assemblage of Buddhist and Shintô teachings. The classic case is the doctrine of honji-suijaku 本地垂迹, in which Shintô deities are identified with particular Buddhas or bodhisattvas.[66] But the question arises as to the status of Shintô and Buddhism as independent religious entities in Japanese history. Meiji political reforms effected a forced separation of the "foreign creed" (i.e., Buddhism) from "indigenous Japanese religion" (Shintô), but the scholar has a difficult time isolating instances of pure, unadulterated Shintô or Buddhism before the time of the Meiji reformation. If it should turn out that Japanese religion is "syncretic to the core," i.e., it always shows some admixture of what are thought to be "Buddhist" and "Shintô" elements, then the terms "Japanese Buddhism" or "Japanese Shintô" as applied to pre-Meiji Japan would seem to be analytic abstractions of dubious value. By extension, the applicability of the term "syncretism" would also warrant re-evaluation. Our analytic categories would seem to be inadequate to the complexity of the subject matter at hand.

The conceptual error lies in the reification of doctrinal or religious traditions -- the tendency to analyze and categorize complex cultural phenomena in terms of the interaction between discrete "religions," "schools," and "sects." The particular categories we use are all too often the starting point, rather than the result, of analysis. Moreover, the categories are often unwittingly borrowed from polemic and apologetic writings of the traditions under study. In using such categories we implicitly accept organizing principles such as "foreign" versus "indigenous," "monastic" versus "lay," "other-power" versus "self-power," "sudden" versus "gradual," and so on, as if these moieties were legitimate descriptions of sociological and historical facts, rather than the ideological tools they turn out to be.

The categories "foreign" and "indigenous," to pick but one example, would seem to be eminently applicable to the study of Chinese religion. Chinese Buddhism, one might suppose, is surely the result of a "dialogue," taking place over many centuries, between Indian Buddhism and native Chinese ways of thought, which resulted in a sinitic, if not syncretic, Buddhism. But, as we noted at the beginning of this chapter, the image of "dialogue" is potentially misleading. There was a long and dangerous road between India, Central Asia, and China, a road which for much of medieval history was difficult if not impossible to navigate in safety. Indian missionaries, though indisputably important in the transmission process, were not many, and their command of Chinese was sometimes weak. The precious few pilgrims who successfully ventured to India and managed to return achieved lasting fame. Thus the "dialogue" which did occur was, in the larger perspective, not between Indian representatives and the Chinese, but among the Chinese themselves. This is corroborated by the fact that Indian and Central Asian translators were rarely considered the "founders" of Buddhist schools in China. Of the major figures in Chinese Buddhist history, only a handful (Kumârajîva, Paramârtha, and Amoghavajra come to mind) were non-Chinese.

We see that the dialogue was effected by Chinese in Chinese, a language that is somewhat autocratic in the manner in which it assimilates foreign concepts and creeds in the process of translation. Unlike Indo-European languages and Japanese, Chinese does not facilitate the incorporation of foreign loan-words. This is partially due to the fact that the Chinese written language does not readily lend itself to transliteration. It is true that one important exception is the case of Buddhist Sanskrit technical terms, many of which were indeed transliterated. This resulted in monstrosities such as a-nou-to-lo-san-miao-san-p'u-ti 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 for the Sanskrit anuttarasamyaksambodhi. I can find no evidence that the use of transliterations was due to a feeling that such terms resisted accurate translation, and I suspect that the use of transliteration was more likely the result of the belief that magical power lay in the proper pronunciation of the original Sanskrit words.[67] Most transliterated terms had translated equivalents used in commentaries and exegetical writing. Thus bodhi (p'u-ti 菩提) is translated "awakening" (chüeh 覺), prajñâ (pan-jo 般若) is "wisdom" (hui 慧), śûnyatâ is "emptiness" (k'ung 空), svabhâva is "own nature" (tzu-hsing 自性), and most significantly, mârga is "the Way" (tao 道), and dharma is "law" or "to model" (fa 法).

Historians and Buddhologists have long commented upon the manner in which early translations employed terms culled from Taoist classics, thereby depicting Buddhism as a form of Taoist practice and hsüan-hsüeh speculation. Taoists interested in meditative pursuits and immortality saw in Buddhism, particularly that embodied in An Shih-kao's translations of dhyâna texts, new and powerful means to attain long-life and immortality -- an error encouraged by the common euphemism for nirvâṇa: "the deathless." Throughout the Wei-Chin North-South Dynasties period, this mutual interaction resulted in the compilation of a host of Taoist scriptures with strong Buddhist resonances, as well as numerous apocryphal Buddhist sûtras replete with Taoist cosmology, terminology, and messianic eschatology.[68]

Scholars have long asserted that Chinese Buddhists became far more sophisticated in their understanding of authentic Indian Buddhism following the arrival of Kumârajîva. As a result of Kumârajîva's activities, Chinese exegetes, according to this view, finally were able to overcome the distorting influence of traditional Chinese metaphysics and soteriology, and could proceed to master the complexities of Mâdhyamika and Yogâcâra thought. The following comments by Matsunaga are typical of many scholars in the field:

> Prior to Kumârajîva's advent, the early Buddhist translators had been using the method of making an analogy (ke-i 格義) between Buddhist and Taoist concepts in order to explain the new faith in a language that could be understood by the native Chinese. This method was responsible for countless misconceptions regarding Buddhist doctrine, such as the idea of an indestructible soul (shen-ling 神靈) and the multiple confusions about śûnyatâ. Kumârajîva was the first to break with this practice and set forth a correct understanding of Buddhism, and his translations proved to be of an enduring value superior to all of his predecessors. (Matsunaga 1969: 104)

Yet it is not clear just what is meant by the "correct understanding of Buddhism." Certainly there was a considerable increase in scholastic sophistication by the end of the Six Dynasties, but the issues and problematics remained stubbornly Chinese. As mentioned above, the doctrine of intrinsic Buddha-nature seems to have been little more than a scholastic quibble in India, yet in China it was the pivot upon which so much doctrinal and soteriological controversy turned. The debate over whether or not all men possessed Buddha-nature, and the significance of a universally endowed "womb-of-Tathâgata" (ju-lai tsang 如來藏, Sk. tathâgata-garbha), is reminiscent of the dispute between Hsün-tzu and Mencius over whether the nature of man is ultimately good or evil. Concern over the moral quality of man's intrinsic nature clearly had a long intellectual history in China. Similarly, as we shall explore in the following chapter, the image of sainthood in China -- the conception of the Buddha, the enlightened one -- is informed by archetypes of the sage-king which go back to the Chou dynasty if not

earlier. Did the Chinese, then, ever "get it right," and what exactly would this mean?

J. Normative Buddhism

Students of Buddhist history, relying as they must primarily upon textual data, tend to explicitly or implicitly construct a model of normative Buddhism derived from the canon, and use it as a standard from which to measure deviation. In this manner one can determine the degree and quality of influence from foreign and popular (or "folk") traditions. The model is constructed primarily from Indian texts (sometimes reconstructed Indian texts), India being the birthplace of the Buddha and his teachings. As Indian Buddhism disappeared centuries ago, we lack the ethnographic data which would mitigate against confusing canonical prescription with historical description. The normative model we construct of monastic practice using vinaya literature runs the risk of misunderstanding the role and function of religious ideology enshrined in the canon. There is, perhaps, always and necessarily a gap or creative tension between the ideal and the actual, a tension mediated through the agency of ritual. Jonathan Z. Smith has shown how ritual overcomes the "contradiction between word and deed" found in religious discourse.[69] Modern scholars have reconstructed Indian Buddhism from scriptural material with little appreciation or understanding of the nature and significance of such a gap.

The Buddhist canon gives form to the sacred myths, which in turn are re-enacted in ritual and ceremony -- the mainstays of Buddhist monastic life. I am using "myth" in the most general sense, to refer to "a sacred narrative explaining how the world and man came to be in their present form" (Dundes 1984: 1). The sûtra and vinaya narratives clearly count as myths in so far as they are "sacred histories" which explain the origin and current form of the saṃgha.[70] Our study of Buddhist myths is hampered, however, by the paucity of information concerning the

social and institutional settings in which they were used. Malinowski's comments, dating to 1926, continue to hold true today in the field of Buddhist studies:

> The limitation of the study of myth to the mere examination of texts has been fatal to a proper understanding of its nature. The forms of myth which come to us from classical antiquity and from the ancient sacred books of the East and other similar sources have come down to us without the context of living faith, without the possibility of obtaining comments from true believers, without the concomitant knowledge of their social organization, their practiced morals, and their popular custom, at least without the full information which the modern fieldworker can easily obtain. (Malinowski 1984: 198)

If I am correct in ascribing a mythic function to sûtra and vinaya narratives, they cannot be used in and of themselves as descriptive of early Buddhist monastic life. And without an accurate understanding of the monastic and ritual lives of Indian Buddhist exegetes, philosophers and scholiasts, the ideological significance of their work cannot be properly appreciated.

The claim that a surface reading of scriptural material gives a distorted view of Buddhist monastic life is corroborated by the rapidly growing body of research which actively incorporates archaeological, art historical, and epigraphical data.[71] We find increasing evidence that early Buddhist monks, contrary to the insistence of the canon, were preoccupied with the worship of an omnipotent Buddha through the veneration of relics, stûpas, and sacred scripture. Filial piety, offering of material goods to the saṃgha, transference of merit, and appeasing spirits played a central role in monastic as well as lay discipline. Monks managed money and possessions, and monasteries often controlled tremendous wealth, including vast land holdings and slaves. And many of the practices once considered exclusively "Tantric" -- most notably a belief in the magical efficacy of ritual action and sacred speech -- turn out to be not later borrowings from Hindu cults, but part and parcel of Buddhist worship from earliest recorded times. In short, early Buddhism looks more and more like a "religion," and less and less like

the secular, rational, atheistic, and humanistic creed lauded by both scholars and apologists alike.

When we turn to living cultures in which Buddhism is still practiced, and where ethnographic data is available, we consistently find "Buddhism" co-existing or intermingled with non-Buddhist "popular" or autochthonous traditions. Asian Buddhism, both monastic and lay, is infused with shamanism, worship of parents, spirits and ancestors, and other practices often explicitly proscribed by the canon.[72] Appearances to the contrary frequently prove, upon examination, to be the result of reform movements stimulated by contact with the west, as in the case of the Sri Lankan revival of "pure" Theravâda. It would then seem plausible that even in the case of the glory days of Buddhist India, any particular community would also have participated in a wide variety of religious activity not sanctioned by the canon. Buddhist scripture is but one factor out of many which determines the shape of the religious life of Buddhists. We cannot assume the canon "normative" in any simple sense. The role and function of the canon must be determined by a thorough examination of the context in which it is used.

Again, syncretism is a somewhat misleading term for this state of affairs, as it commonly presupposes the pre-existence of discrete religious forms predating the syncretic amalgam. "Pure Buddhism," like "pure Ch'an," is usually little more than a mental construct posited by Buddhist polemicists, apologists, well-intentioned reformers, and armchair scholars. Burmese Buddhism is not fully comprehensible without an understanding of esoterism and the Nat cults; Thai and Ceylonese Buddhism exists in symbiotic union with shamanism and exorcism; Tibetan Buddhism is impregnated with divination, exorcism, and early Bon beliefs; Chinese Buddhism is suffused with ancestor worship, divination, and so on. Perhaps we have managed to persist in talking of an abstract "Buddhism" for so long simply because the complex, lived reality of Indian Buddhism is no longer around to challenge our views.

Not that I would support abandoning the term "Buddhism" (any more than I would want to abandon the terms "Pure Land" and "Ch'an"). As an analytic category applied to a complex of religious rituals, beliefs, doctrines, and institutional forms, it remains extremely useful. Most Buddhist cultures do distinguish between Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious activity (although the manner in which they do this differs from region to region). But we must remember that the term "Buddhism" used pan-culturally is an analytic category, not a descriptive one, and that whatever normative associations the term bears must be sought not through a simple reading of the canon, but through an examination of the actual ritual and institutional forms which Buddhism assumes in any particular culture.

K. Hermeneutics and the Doctrine of Emptiness

To return to the situation in China, we have seen that the process by which Buddhism is adopted by the Chinese does not follow contact and dialogue, but, in a sense, begins prior to it. This is true because, as mentioned above, the conversation take places in Chinese, altering the "semantic spin" of the Indian original. But more important is the fact that the prior expectations of the interpreter play a major role in deciphering a text. Chinese Buddhist enthusiasts expected Buddhist scriptures to answer questions quite alien to the world in which said scriptures were composed. For this reason, even sustained contact and intermingling does not guarantee understanding, or even the recognition of a failure to understand. A complex set of "fore-meanings," "fore-projects," and "fore-structures" (to borrow Gadamer's terminology), continues to shape perceived meanings even as the dialogue progresses.

This insight is central to the hermeneutics of Gadamer, who emphasized the degree to which understanding requires not liberation from tradition and prejudice, but, on the contrary, standing within a tradition with a specific and ongoing history. "Understanding is not to be

thought of so much as an action of one's subjectivity, but as the placing of oneself within a process of tradition, in which past and present are constantly fused" (Gadamer 1975: 261). Being situated within a tradition entails "prejudice," or the anticipation of meaning. Such prejudice, rather than being seen as antithetical to enlightened reason, must be understood as intrinsic to all instances of understanding. This follows from the fundamental hermeneutic principle that the whole is only comprehensible in terms of its parts, and the parts in terms of the whole. "The anticipation of meaning in which the whole is envisaged becomes explicit understanding in that the parts, that are determined by the whole, themselves also determine this whole" (Gadamer 1975: 259). In a word, one must begin somewhere, and this "somewhere" constitutes a "prejudice" which will continue to inform our understanding of the matter at hand.

The medieval Chinese approached Buddhist scriptures with a very different set of anticipations than those of Buddhists in India or Central Asia. Gadamer's point that the prejudices are not subjective, but rooted in a tradition, is evidenced in the seeming persistence of Chinese problematics throughout the history of Chinese Buddhism. Prejudice is constituted within the infinite but bounded set of linguistic and cultural meanings available to the individual. As we will explore in the next chapter, the problematic underlying the development of Ch'an ideology -- the relationship between purity and impurity, the transcendent and the profane, the sage and the common man -- remain in certain respects distinctively Chinese despite being cast in Buddhist garb.

To state the situation differently, the "dialogue" between Chinese exegetes and Indian Buddhist texts remains at times only a semblance of dialogue in so far as it is not about a common object. The object, the set of existential and metaphysical issues to which Chinese exegetes address themselves, are not the same as those found in India or Central Asia. The "hermeneutical conversation" must be about the same object,

such that "the common object . . . unites the two partners, the text and the interpreter" (Gadamer 1975: 349).

In order to determine the hermeneutic "object" -- the complex of questions to which a particular text is addressed -- we must strive towards a re-construction of the polemic and sociological context out of which the text grew. To pick a particularly striking example, many Ch'an and Zen texts have been interpreted by modern students of Zen as talking about "enlightenment." Contemporary writers, in both Japan and the West, depict Ch'an enlightenment as a momentous experiential gestalt -- an "altered state of consciousness" in which one is thrust out of socially conditioned modes of perception into the unmediated experience of reality itself. Virtually any Ch'an tract, according to this view, is involved in the inculcation of the enlightened state of being. Thus, J. C. Cleary argues against the historicizing of early Ch'an lineage documents such as the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi:

> Buddhist teachings are intended as skillful, expedient means, devised and used according to the varying needs of particular audiences and situations. . . . different formulations of Buddhism are meant to have instrumental value in promoting the development of enlightened perception among those to whom the teachings are addressed. . . . Real teachers must have their own independent realizations of enlightened perception, plus a thorough mastery of the full range of teaching methods known as the Buddha Dharma. Such teachers form the core of Buddhism as it is active in the world. (Cleary 1986: 6-7)

Yet the more we know about the ritual and liturgical life of Ch'an monasteries, the more we appreciate the degree to which Ch'an ritual is a Buddhologized form of ancestor worship. Ch'an monks train in the ritual re-enactment of the sacred myth of Śâkyamuni's enlightenment and the subsequent transmission of the doctrine. The line of patriarchs terminating in the current abbot are worshipped in the same manner as is a stûpa or an icon of the Buddha. The view of ritual entailed in such activity incorporates Confucian notions of ritual as self-transcendence -- transcendence not in the service of a mystical ecstatic (or

"enstatic") state, but rather in the interest of harmonious integration into the communal whole.

The mistaken understanding of Ch'an as a tradition wholly devoted to the inculcation of a religious experience is a reflection of our own set of anticipations and prejudices, which can be traced to particular intellectual developments in the West. Among them we can cite (1) the Cartesian bifurcation of body and mind and the associated doctrine of "certainty;" (2) the faith of enlightenment thinkers in the possibility of transcending historical and tradition bound consciousness; and (3) the development of the concept "religious experience" by Schleiermacher and his intellectual heirs, including James and Huxley.[73]

Cleary's reading of Ch'an depends upon a notion of truth as pan-cultural, trans-subjective, and trans-contextual. Besides being a product of nineteenth-century European thinking, Cleary's understanding is, ironically, at odds with the Buddhist doctrine of dependent-origination. Cleary has succumbed to a crude version of the Ch'an rhetoric of <u>upâya</u>, an understanding which repudiates the famous lines of the <u>Heart Sûtra</u>: "Emptiness is not other than form."

The doctrine of emptiness asserts that each dharma exists only in relationship to the entire network of dharmas, and the network itself has no abiding reality independent of its parts. The logic behind this doctrine is structurally analogous to the semiotic insight that any signifier signifies by virtue of its place in a complex system of relationships. All signifiers are "empty of own being" in so far as their existence is entirely relational. Dharmas are no more than "empty signifiers" -- empty because the chain of signification is not ultimately grounded in a "signified." Ch'an masters may speak of fingers pointing to the moon, but the moon to which the fingers point is precisely the awareness that all we have are fingers.

The dharma of "enlightenment" (bodhi) is the quintessential example of the "empty signifier." Such a term has meaning only in so far as it serves a function within a complex of symbols and cultural meanings. "Enlightenment" is the realization of śûnyatâ -- a term which indicates the relational nature of language, conceptual thought, and experience. The term śûnyatâ indicates precisely that all signifiers are bereft of a signified. According to Mahâyâna (more specifically, mâdhyamika) doctrine, terms such as "nirvâṇa," "śûnyatâ," and "bodhi," do not acquire meaning by virtue of referring to an object. And in so far as this is true of all dharmas, there is no ontological difference between nirvâṇa and saṃsâra. Śûnyatâ is that place where, to quote Wittgenstein, "explanations come to an end" (Wittgenstein 1958: 3).

The assertion that the Chinese never really understood what the Indian Buddhists were talking about, and indeed never could understand it given the differences in cultural assumptions and values, would seem to invoke the notion of the "incommensurability of conceptual schemes," which some associate with the position taken by Thomas Kuhn in The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1970). This is not the place to enter into this very complex debate. I will say only that I take seriously the position advanced by Donald Davidson, which holds that the notion of "radical incommensurability" is logically flawed and ultimately meaningless (Davidson 1973 and 1974). At this point I intend only to problematize the notion of a "Buddhism" which moves from culture to culture, assuming different forms while remaining essentially one. A defense of the strong claim that the Chinese could not have understood Indian Buddhist teachings even if they wanted to, would entail the admission that neither could we. We would find ourselves in the same position vis-a-vis the Chinese as they were vis-a-vis the Indians, and would be forced to turn our backs on history and enter the labyrinth of self-reflective navel-gazing and narcissistic deconstruction. Our involvement with Chinese history, just like the Chinese involvement with Indian Buddhism, is far more complex than a simple all or nothing situation. Suffice to say that the study of Chinese Buddhist texts requires

a heightened hermeneutic awareness, which can be achieved in part through the rigorous effort to reconstruct the social, institutional, ritual, and polemic context out of which the texts grew.

L. Local Knowledge

The brief diversion into semiotics and emptiness is of more than purely philosophical interest. The deeply-rooted tendency to conceptualize complex foreign religious systems in essentialist terms makes for poor intellectual and social history. The notion of a "Buddhism" which traveled outward from India to become a major force throughout Asia is simplistic and misleading. And even more naive is the notion of a "normative Buddhism" as the Buddhism of ancient India preserved in canonical accounts.

A striking example of the need for sensitivity to context can be found in the recent research into Buddhist elements in second and third century Chinese iconography by the art historian Wu Hung (1986). Wu Hung focuses on what were believed by scholars to be the earliest examples of Buddhist images in China. These include the Buddha-like images found on Han bronze mirrors studied by Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, the "Buddha figure" discovered in the first chamber of a Han tomb at Ma-hao 麻壕 (Szechwan) by Richard Edwards in 1949, figures on a clay stand from P'eng-shan 彭山 (Szechwan), a tombstone from T'eng-hsien 滕縣 (Honan), and so on (Wu Hung 1986: 263 ff.). These figures were, without doubt inspired by Indian Buddhist motifs, and were considered by scholars to be the earliest examples of Buddhist art in China. But Wu Hung disagrees with the premise that "any work with definite Buddhist motifs, or with the morphological characteristics of definite Buddhist art works, is a work of Buddhist art." Instead, Wu Hung argues that

> Only those works which propagate Buddhist ideas or serve in Buddhist ritual or institutional practices can be considered Buddhist

> art. One should not expect to determine the content of such art works by their forms only, nor by their limited similarities to comparable objects; one must also pay attention both to the function of the works, and to the cultural tradition and the social context in which they were created. (1986: 264)

Wu Hung demonstrates that in the Eastern Han the Buddha was considered an Indian god of imposing visage possessing supernatural powers. This Buddha-god, although foreign in origin, was clearly conceived of as a member of the indigenous pantheon. Moreover, a careful examination of the sites in which the early examples of Buddhist iconic forms are found invariably reveal a connection with religious Taoism.

The figure from the Ma-hao tomb, for example, possesses the basic iconographic features of the Buddha -- the ṇṣṇîṣa, the abhaya-mudrâ, and the left hand holding the end of the gown. Yet the figure is placed on a tomb lintel precisely where, given a survey of similar Han tombs, one would expect to find depictions of Tung Wang-kung 東王公, Hsi Wang-mu 西王母, and other popular deities who inhabit the realm west of Kunlun and possess the elixir of immortality (Wu Hung 1986: 267).

> The Buddha, as a "foreign deity" who belonged to the Western Realm and who could also help people achieve immortality, was naturally linked with the images of Tung Wang-kung and Hsi Wang-mu in the minds of the Han people. . . . In the Mahao tomb, this holy image is no longer an object of worship on public occasions, but is a symbol of the deceased individual who had hoped to attain immortality after his death. (Wu Hung 1986: 267-268)

A similar phenomenon can be seen in the Eastern Han tomb at Helingeer, Inner Mongolia. The four walls of the antechamber are decorated with images of Tung Wang-kung, Hsi Wang-mu, a figure riding a white elephant believed to be derived from the scene of the Buddha's conception, and a depiction of the Buddha's relics identified by the inscription she-li 舍利. Wu Hung cites several more examples, which indicate that the Buddha "not only occupied a place among the Taoist gods and the Confucian sages, but that he was also incorporated into indigenous cults" (1986: 268-269). After a survey of similar remains from the Eastern Han, Wu Hung concludes:

> Although these elements came from Indian Buddhist art, in none of the examples discussed above do these elements have either an inherently Buddhist content, or Buddhist religious function. Rather, as novel forms, they served to enrich the representations of Chinese indigenous cults and traditional ideas. It would be misleading to identify these works as early Chinese Buddhist art and take them as the true embodiment of the original Buddhist meaning. In fact, these works cannot even be seen as reflecting a fusion of Buddhism and the Chinese tradition. They only reflect a random borrowing of Buddhist elements by Han popular art. (1986: 273)

The worship of Hsi Wang-mu became increasingly popular during the final years of the Western Han, the period when she begins to appear on Bronze mirrors. And by the end of the Eastern Han, Buddhist iconographical features are found incorporated into the images of Hsi Wang-mu and Tung Wang-kung. Wu Hung analyzes forty-two examples of "Buddhist art," including twenty mirrors and twenty ceramic wares, discovered in the area of the old Kingdom of Wu (middle and lower Yangtzu River region), the center of Buddhist activity after the fall of the Han.

> Many mirrors, cast from this time until the Chin dynasty, are decorated with divinities with mixed divine marks taken both from Hsi Wang-mu and from the Buddha. Many mirrors show Buddha-like figures in juxtaposition with Tung Wang-kung and Hsi Wang-mu. Even the later shen-shou mirrors 神獸鏡, on which Buddhist images occupy the dominant positions, still bear inscriptions, such as those which state that the maker or owner commissioned the mirror in order to achieve immortality and become a hsien, or which state the owner's hope for promotion in the official ranks and for the well-being of the Emperor. (Wu Hung 1986: 283)

Wu Hung further considers the cliff carvings at K'ung-wang shan 孔望山 near Lien-yün-kang 連雲港 in Kiangsu. Most scholars date the carvings to the Later Han period, citing their primitive style. But the style may be indicative of the fact that they were produced by provincial craftsmen. Wu Hung prefers to date them by a comparison with other sites influenced by the early diffusion of Buddhist statuary, and arrives at a date of late second century to the third century A.D. (1986: 292-295).

Many of the figures show marked similarities to Indian Buddha images, and possess an uṣṇīṣa-like protuberance on the head, the abhaya-mudrâ, and the left hand holding the gown. But a careful examination of the carvings reveals that, despite surface appearances, such figures do not indicate even the slightest familiarity with Buddhist concepts or Buddhist doctrine. It would seem that isolated Buddhist motifs were absorbed into the local tradition with little or no comprehension of their Indian meanings. In this instance the local tradition turns out to be that of the T'ien-shih tao 天師道, or "Heavenly Master Taoism," popular in the K'ung-wang shan region at the time. Indeed, a Taoist temple -- the Tung-hai shen-chun miao 東海神君廟 ("The Temple of the Divine Master of the Eastern Sea") -- existed in the Later Han close to the cliffs, and there is some evidence that the cliffs may have actually been part of the temple complex. Wu Hung demonstrates that the carvings were produced "under the influence of religious Taoism to which the East Sea Temple belonged [and therefore] it is unlikely that they were meant for the propagation of Buddhism. This is not only because of the general antagonism between Buddhism and Taoism of the time, but also because the doctrines of the Heavenly Master Tao took a clear stand against Buddhism" (1986: 299).

We can apply our new understanding of the place of Buddha figures in the late Han to accounts of the Buddha being worshipped along with Lao-tzu and the Yellow Emperor by Liu Ying 劉英, king of Ch'u 楚, in 65 A.D., and Emperor Huan 桓 in 166.[74] These events are frequently mentioned as proof of the acceptance of Buddhism by members of the Chinese upper classes, but as it turns out it proves nothing of the kind. It may only indicate the incorporation of the Buddha image into Taoism as a powerful deity in the Taoist pantheon to whom one could offer sacrifice and request protection.

Wu Hung goes on to cite a wide variety of materials which consistently indicate a close connection between early Buddha images and the rising popularity of Taoist sects in the late Han. In each case we find

that these early figures of the Buddha are not indications of the Chinese acceptance of the Buddhist creed, but rather testify to the inclusion of the Buddha in the family of Chinese divinities. "Instead of proclaiming these carvings to be the earliest Buddhist art in China, therefore, it is perhaps more appropriate to say that they are the earliest examples of Taoist art" (1986: 303).

Wu Hung's study is a lucid exposition of the dangers of interpreting a sign without adequate knowledge of the context in which the sign assumed sense. There is no doubt that the forms of these Buddha-like figures were borrowed from India and Central Asia, but the meaning of such images is to be sought within the entire system of signs in which they operated. In the final analysis, it is only with considerable qualification that they can be called "images of the Buddha."

M. Syncretism Revisited

So far this chapter has touched upon a wide variety of Chinese religious phenomena characterized by some as syncretic. The three creeds, the purported synthesis between Pure Land and Ch'an, the widespread ongoing mutual borrowing which took place between Buddhism and Taoism, and the very adoption of Buddhism by the Chinese has all been touted as evidence of the Chinese penchant for syncretic accommodation. My own analysis showed the need for a case-by-case approach -- "syncretism" as applied to the phenomena examined above is not only vague but misleading, in so far as it conjures an essentialist interpretation of complex historical processes. "Pure Land" is not a "sect" or "school" in the same sense as is "Ch'an;" "Confucianism" is not a religion in the same sense as is "Taoism;" "Buddhism" in India is a different sort of beast than Chinese "Buddhism," and so on.

Some scholars, recognizing the ambiguity of the term "syncretism" but not wishing to abandon it altogether, have attempted to redefine it

with a greater degree of precision. Others approach the problem by enumerating distinctly different types of syncretic phenomena, all of which would then require independent analysis. Judith Berling falls into the first group, as she feels the essential error is the failure to distinguish "syncretism" from "eclecticism."

> Eclecticism is idiosyncratic or whimsical, a bold openness to experimentation. Syncretism, on the other hand, attempts to reconcile elements from more than one religion. The reconciliation may not be apparent to observers unless they understand the way in which elements have been altered to fit their new context. (Berling 1980: 5)

Religious syncretism differs from eclecticism in that it is not "arbitrary or irrational, but serves a religious function" (Berling 1980: 7). After rejecting arguments which favor abandoning the term "syncretism" altogether, Berling offers the following by way of definition:

> Syncretism may be tentatively defined as the borrowing, affirmation or integration of concepts, symbols or practices of one religious tradition into another by a process of selection and reconciliation. (1980: 9)

> Syncretism, as opposed to eclecticism, assumes a firm basis of religious authority. It is not simply a random juxtaposition of elements into an idiosyncratic whole, but the incorporation of various elements into a home tradition. Most commonly syncretism is an enrichment and reinterpretation of the syncretist's lifelong religion, building on traditional forms of authority to verify the orthodoxy of the new vision. (1980: 10)

> Syncretism requires that borrowed elements be reconciled, sometimes radically reinterpreted, to accommodate them to the world view and doctrines of the home tradition. Van der Leeuw calls this reconciliation "transposition." One might also use a linguistic metaphor and call it "translation." (1980: 12)

Berling argues for the retention of the term "syncretism" as a legitimate analytical category in the study of religion -- a "universal" found in various and diverse cultures throughout human history. But even if we accept Berling's stipulative definition of "syncretism," one still questions its utility in the face of the complex nature of Chinese

religion. How are we to determine what will constitute "borrowing, affirmation or integration of concepts"? Did the T'ien-shih Taoists who carved Buddhist figures into the caves at K'ung-wang Shan "borrow" the Buddhist imagery in order to "enrich" their tradition? When Tsung-mi relegates the teachings of Confucianism and Taoism to mere upâya, does he recognize that in the process he seriously misconstrues these rival traditions, compromising their internal coherence and comprehensive ethical and soteriological systems? Is the polemic and hegemonic strategy underlying p'an-chiao schemes to be analyzed as the attempt to "incorporate disparate elements into a home tradition?" When a ch'ung-hsüan exegete uses the term "genesis point" (pen-chi) and incorrectly insists that the term originated with the Taoists, is this an instance of "borrowing" and/or "integration?"

In each of the above cases one bumps up against the notoriously complex problem of "intentionality," familiar to students of contemporary literary theory and hermeneutics. The rhetoric in which Berling casts her definition of syncretism -- "borrowing," "affirmation," "selection" and "reconciliation" -- entails a principle of agency or instrumentality, wherein the underlying causes are presumed to be traceable to an active, intending, and somewhat autonomous subject. But the situation in China belies such a straightforward causal analysis. As Gadamer has indicated, our "anticipations of meaning," our "fore-structures" and "fore-conceptions," are in an important sense trans-subjective, rooted in a cultural tradition. As we saw in the case of K'ung-wang Shan, a sign moved from one context to another can undergo a significant shift in meaning of which the agents involved remain wholly ignorant. This is most likely the case in the examples of late Han Taoist appropriation of Buddhist motifs examined by Wu Hung. But I would submit that the same holds true even in the case of the "unity of the three creeds" doctrines, and indeed in every situation which demands the transport of signs from one semiotic environment to another.

Berling is aware that her use of the term syncretism does not distinguish between conscious and unconscious borrowing:

> Religious borrowing may or may not be consciously syncretic. What to the observer seems a syncretic adaptation may be perceived by participants as emerging naturally from within their tradition. . . . To the historian of religion, the syncretic debt of the Neo-Confucians is clear; yet that debt would have been indignantly denied by many Neo-Confucians. Identifying the syncretic debt does more than label the origins of the ideas, and it certainly does not undermine their validity in the Confucian tradition. It helps rather to clarify how the process of arming themselves against the "errors" of Buddhism transformed and broadened their religious vision. It helps to clarify the historic affinities between Neo-Confucian thought and certain overtly syncretic strains which emerged at the same period in the Taoist school. (1980: 12-13)

This quote from Berling highlights the degree to which the intellectual game underlying the usage of the term "syncretism" is that of the search for origins and roots. But this search is always thwarted by the complexity of history. History never satisfies the search for first causes, but presents instead only complex processes. One must commit oneself to jumping in at some point, and the particular appearance of syncretic activity will always depend on the starting point chosen by the scholar. This is the point made by Robert Baird, who argues that the term "syncretism" is analytically meaningless. It tells us little more than the fact that a doctrine has diverse historical antecedents, and "Any subject fitting for historical research has historical antecedents" (1971: 145). The elements which comprise a tradition will always be traceable to a number of divergent sources. The decision to call a particular tradition "syncretic" is necessarily the result of carving up the historical pie one way rather than another. If the issue of intentionality is not explicitly addressed (along with the attendant epistemological problems), then we can be sure that analysis will render all religious traditions thoroughly syncretic -- the products of complex processes of borrowing, integration, accommodation and so on.

Carsten Colpe, in a synoptic article on syncretism, abandons the attempt to give a single definition of the term, and offers instead a taxonomy or typology of syncretic phenomena: "Precise application makes it clear that no definition of syncretism is possible without a specific context and that the term cannot serve as an adequate description of homogeneous sets of phenomena" (1986: 219). The typology offered by Colpe concerns relations between complex wholes, which he defines as "any coherence of mental elements and of actions, representations, or objects related to these elements, which has the function of giving human beings an irreducible explanation of their world, as well as norms that are likewise not further reducible" (1986: 219). By limiting the use of the term "syncretism" to interactions between entire systems, Colpe effectively excludes what Berling calls "eclecticism."

Colpe's typology is far too elaborate to survey in detail, and I will limit myself to a mere sampling. Colpe distinguishes between religious syncretism, linguistic syncretism, and cultural syncretism, the three of which need not be related in any significant way. In each case, the interaction between two systems can yield three outcomes: "The first possible result is that what is superimposed predominates, while what is older survives. . . A second possibility is that the substratum continues to exercise dominance. . . A third possibility is that a balance may be established between the various components" (1986: 220).

All syncretism presupposes the "coexistence of various groups," which can give rise to various syncretic formations. The processes underlying the formation are analyzed as the result of "symbiosis," "acculturation," or "superposition" (1986: 220). "Not every symbiosis, acculturation, or superposition, however, has led to a syncretism. Other formations may have resulted, the names of which are often, and misleadingly, used as synonyms for <u>syncretism</u>" (1986: 221). These other formations include "synthesis" which refers to "a reconciliation of cultures or an integration of cultures into a higher unity" (1986: 221). Also "evolution", which "designates a process, internal to a system,

that produces new elements and that is irreversible. The new elements can then become the center of a new unity and thus of a new system. The result of the process is a new religion, but this new religion is not syncretic." Finally, "harmonization," which is often behind "all is one" movements like Theosophy. "The claim is usually not made that all religions teach the same thing, nor are the lines of demarcation between them removed. But a harmony is established among them by the claim that they are all seeking the same goal" (1986: 221).

Colpe goes on to distinguish the diverse processes which characterize the combination of particular elements, including "addition," "parallelization," "interpretation," "equivalence," "amalgamation," "exchange of qualities," "identification" and so on (1986: 224). In his attempt to be comprehensive, Colpe offers a terminology and typology for describing the interaction between co-existing religious groups. One might question the utility of subsuming the diverse processes enumerated by Colpe under a single heading "syncretism." But for our purposes there remains a more significant issue. Colpe's analysis is predicated upon the notion of the "co-existence" of diverse systems. I have argued that "Indian Buddhism" cannot properly be said to have "co-existed" with Confucianism and Taoism in China. I have also demonstrated the error in describing Pure Land and Ch'an as two co-existing systems. The crucial question -- how the "otherness" of foreign or rival traditions is perceived, understood, and managed -- is left untouched by Colpe's somewhat sterile taxonomy.

A third approach to syncretism is simply to reject the term altogether as inadequate in the study of the history of religions. This is the position advocated by Baird, who notes that the term is rarely defined by those who use it, and, as demonstrated by Colpe, is used in too many ways (Baird 1971: 142-152). In addition, many do not distinguish between the historical and theological usages of the term. "Merely to define syncretism as the uniting of religious elements of different origin or merely as the 'fusion of various beliefs and

practices' [the definition in The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church: 1314], is too general to avoid the application of the concept to any religious expression" (1971: 146-147).

Baird advocates the use of a variety of terms to describe the diverse phenomena illegitimately lumped together under the rubric of "syncretism." For example "synthesis" could be used to describe the union of elements drawn from different sources into a harmonious whole. "This term indicates the unity achieved without implying the logically impossible statement that the harmony is produced by the union of two contradictory practices or ideas" (1971: 147). And Baird borrows the term "reconception" from Hocking to denote "a unity . . . produced by modifying one's religious complex so that the previously extraneous element is comfortable in that context . . . In reconception, the result is a unity which has been effected through a modification of the very heart of a religion.[75]

Finally, Baird, in a reductio ad absurdum, wants to reserve the term "syncretism" for "cases where two conflicting ideas or practices are brought together and are retained without the benefit of consistency. Syncretism occurs only when the result is not a harmonious unity" (1971: 147). This hypothetical situation -- the coexistence of two or more conflicting traditions in a single incoherent system -- is never realized. The insider will always experience coherence, although it may be achieved as the result of compartmentalization, and continual re-contextualization. Baird concludes that the term "syncretism" always includes a normative and pejorative judgment from the outside. "Syncretism is a concept applied to a religion by those who stand outside its circle of faith and hence fail to see or to experience its inner unity" (1971: 151).

I would not want to rule out the possibility that some scholar of religion might find the term "syncretism" useful in a particular and clearly defined context. My object here has been to highlight the

intricacies of the situation in China -- intricacies which are obscured by the uncritical application of categories such as "syncretism." We must remain on guard when using polemic and ideological documents as sources for social history. Religious "insiders" as well as "outsiders" may find comfort in essentialist models of religious history, but such models rarely do justice to the hermeneutic issues involved in the development of religious traditions.

N. Buddho-Taoist Interaction

We have seen that the fact that a deity has its origins in Buddhist iconography does not necessarily imply that it is a Buddhist deity in any functional sense. The presence in one tradition of an element or form indisputably borrowed from another is not sufficient ground for inferring significant dialogue or interaction between the two -- one system need not change as the result of the appropriation of signs from another. In China we frequently find signs -- images, terms, metaphors -- functioning in a semiotic environment quite foreign to that of their origin.

At the beginning of this chapter we mentioned the frequent claim that the Chinese are pragmatists, eclectic, tolerant of divergent beliefs, and often unconcerned with logical consistency. But consistency is always context specific, and human beings of all periods and cultures have had to navigate their way through a wide variety of social and institutional environments, each of which may constitute a somewhat autonomous and internally coherent universe of meaning. The burden rests upon those who would insist that the Chinese are inconsistent to demonstrate that this is in fact the case within a <u>single</u> lived situation. To be truly inconsistent in this precise sense is to be incoherent -- to preclude the possibility of being understood by one's fellow beings. The task of the intellectual or social historian is to

correctly specify the operative context -- the semiotic environment -- which renders Chinese cultural phenomena consistent and meaningful.

We are now in a position to return the the question with which we ended the previous chapter: what are we to make of the widespread use of Buddhist terms in nominally Taoist scriptures, particularly those associated with _ch'ung-hsüan_ exegesis? And how are we to approach the widespread influence of Chinese and Taoist concepts in nominally Buddhist works such as the _Pao-tsang lun_?

In even simpler language: what makes a Buddhist text "Buddhist," or a Taoist text "Taoist?" This is more than a mere quibble, as it is difficult to even begin to make sense of Classical Chinese doctrinal texts until the intended audience is determined with some degree of accuracy. This is another instance of the hermeneutic circle: understanding the whole -- the ability to identify the historical tradition in which to situate the text -- and the painstaking philological study of the parts are inextricably bound up with one another. The _Pao-tsang lun_ is a particularly fitting example of how the conception of the text as a whole will affect an understanding of its terminological parts. This dense and opaque treatise is layered with double entendre and multiple allusions to a broad spectrum of prior texts. Perhaps, like the _Lao-tzu_, the _PTL_ will ultimately prove to be a sort of Rorschach ink-blot, allowing the reader to see a reflection of whatever doctrines or insights he expects to find. Were this the case, a Taoist reading the _PTL_ would yield a Taoist text, a Buddhist reading a Buddhist text, a syncretist reading a syncretist text, and so on.

Context will mitigate against the tendency of Chinese materials to dissolve into Rorschach ink-blots. Take, for example, the widespread use of the term Tao 道 ("the Way") or _wu-wei_ 無爲 ("non-action") which appears in representative works from virtually all Chinese quarters. Students of classical Chinese literature quickly become aware that the valence of these terms differs widely depending upon context. The "Tao"

for an austere Confucian minister such as Wei Cheng 魏徵 (580-643) is quite different from the "Tao" for a Shang-ch'ing Taoist of the same period. And wu-wei is different in meaning for hsüan-hsüeh Taoists such as Wang Pi than it was for the early legalists such as Shen Pu-hai and Han Fei-tzu, who seem to have been the first to give currency to the term.[76] The fact that we deal with the same "sign" in each case can obscure significant conceptual differences, and lead to the hasty conclusion that such terms lack definition and precision. The "Tao" can only be understood within the context of a specific cosmological and soteriological scheme.

Fortunately, neither the PTL nor the ch'ung-hsüan texts need be relegated ink-blots. Our knowledge of eighth-century Taoist and Buddhist thought, coupled with internal evidence from the texts themselves, allows us to discern with some confidence the underlying world-view of the texts in question. In the process we find that there are indeed grounds to designate some texts "Buddhist" and others "Taoist." Such a designation will be determined by an investigation of the underlying soteriological framework and religious ethos of the text. We must keep in mind, however, that the designation "Buddhist" need not imply "normative Buddhism" as reconstructed in this century through the philological study of Indian manuscripts. The cosmological, soteriological, and epistemological world of the Chinese Buddhist monk differs significantly from that of his Indian counterpart.

This is most apparent if we turn to the Buddhism of the Six Dynasties period, as exemplified in the work of exegetes such as Chih Tun 支遁 (314-366).[77] Chih Tun clearly considered himself a Buddhist: he studied Buddhist scriptures from youth and ordained at the age of twenty-five, from which time he adhered to the Buddhist monastic precepts as they were understood in his day. He advanced the cause of Buddhism among the southern gentry in the area of Chien-k'ang and K'uai-chi, founded two monasteries, and his disciples, both monks and laypersons, numbered in the hundreds. But at the same time, Chih Tun figures

prominently in the Shih-shuo hsin-yü as an adept of ch'ing-t'an debate and hsüan-hsüeh metaphysics, and was known as a specialist in the Chuang-tzu. Furthermore, he describes the goal of Buddhist practice -- the attainment of nirvâṇa -- in terms borrowed from Lao-Chuang thought.

Chih Tun's conception of the path and its goal is described in his Tso-yu ming 座右銘, preserved in the Kao-seng chuan.[78] The inscription is filled with Taoist terminology and allusions to Taoist classics. Typical is the passage: "Again render knowledge mysterious; gently turning and calmly accepting, move along with the flow of things 又玄其知 婉轉平任 與物推移" (T.2059: 50.348c17-18). In her discussion of Chih Tun's work, Kohn comments: "rather than a state of non-arising and non-decaying, a complete freedom from fetters and bondage, nirvâṇa for Chih Tun is a oneness with the chaos underlying creation, a state found through forgetfulness and in darkness" (1989c: 210-211). Yet a careful analysis precludes an overly "Taoist" reading of Chih Tun. His comprehension of the Buddhist path is shown in the organization of the inscription, which, in traditional Buddhist fashion, moves from a depiction of the suffering of the world to an analysis of suffering as the result of confusion and attachment. The analysis of the problem is followed by the prescription for the cure -- strict adherence to the moral precepts and rigorous dhyâna practice. The text ends with a poetic description of the freedom of the sage and the nature of liberative knowledge, which includes reference to the teaching of anâtman ("my body is not self 我身非我," 348c13) and śûnyatâ ("the five skandhas are equal to emptiness 空同五陰," 348c16). Basic elements of Indian Buddhist path theory are clothed in native Chinese, particularly Taoist, dress.

Another clear example of the manner in which Chih Tun employs Lao-Chuang terminology and concepts in the process of explaining and propagating Buddhism can be found in the text of a memorial to the throne written in 365. The memorial was a request for permission to retire to the mountains, but the request itself is preceded by a long introduction in which Chih Tun lectures the throne on issues such as the

relationship between the government and the saṃgha, and proper rulership based on hsüan-hsüeh and Buddhist principles (Zürcher 1972: 120). On the latter issue Chih Tun advocates "non-action" (wu-wei 無為):

> Be constantly non-active, and the myriad beings will revert to the essence. Hold to the Great Schemata[79] and all under heaven will move along of their own accord. As to state regulations concerning capital punishment, there are various officials in charge. If the King grants one his life without [any particular sense of] kindness, the benefit goes to the one granted pardon, and if He kills one without anger, it is the criminal who is executed [with no ensuing karmic consequences for the King]. In this way the King may extend the instruments of the State in order to satisfy the will of the gods, and hold the scales in order to measure what is obscure. This is what is meant by: "What does heaven speak? Yet the four seasons go their way!"[80]

In the memorial Chih Tun addresses the fundamental moral issue concerning the applicability of Buddhist ethics, which strictly prohibit killing, to the administration of government, which necessitates capital punishment. Chih Tun advocates a part-Taoist part-Legalist path of non-action, delegating responsibility for the implementation of state law to subordinate officials.[81] The king may grant life or death to the criminal, but as long as he does so without any affective involvement he will bear no karmic consequences. The wu-wei of the passage is presented in conventional terms, and is supported with a quote from Confucius. Yet the operative principle -- the soteriological rationale -- behind Chih Tun's advocacy of wu-wei is that of the Buddhist doctrine of karma, wherein it is not the action itself that bears fruit, but the intention behind it.

Throughout Chih Tun's writings we see the same pattern emerge again and again. On the surface the terminology is borrowed from Taoist classics, but the underlying conception of the path, wherein ethical behavior and meditative accomplishment are directed towards freedom from karma and realization of emptiness, is Buddhist. Yet the conception of the Buddhist path and goal are influenced subtly but pervasively by the Taoist terminology in which they are cast.

At the end of the last chapter we saw examples of the extensive borrowing of Buddhist terminology and concepts characteristic of post-Han Taoist texts. Such borrowing goes back to the very origins of the Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao scriptures, the two traditions which dominate what is sometimes known as "Religious Taoism."[82] Ofuchi has shown the degree to which the compilation of the Taoist "canon" was a response to the growth of Buddhist canonical collections in China, and the "Three Caverns" (san-tung 三洞) into which the Taoist canon is organized is apparently modeled upon the "Three Vehicles" of the Buddhists (and not the three divisions of the Tripitaka as is often thought, Ofuchi 1979b: 260-262).

The nature of Buddhist influence on the Ling-pao scriptures in particular has been the subject of an excellent study by Bokenkamp (1983). The central text of the Ling-pao corpus, the Tu-jen ching 度人經 (HY.1), includes the secret names of all the heavens, as well as the names of the demons and spirits whose power must be secured by the Taoist adept. The names are uttered in the language of heaven -- the "Concealed Language of the Great Brahman 大梵隱語" -- which turns out to incorporate many elements derived from Sanskrit transliterations and dhâranî (1983: 462-465). The thirty-three heaven system of the Tu-jen ching is modeled on that of the Buddhists (1983: 462) and the Twelve Supreme Vows 十二上願 uttered by the Most High Lord of the Tao are structured on the twenty-four vows of Amitâbha in the Chih Ch'ien 支謙 translation of the Sukhâvatîvyûha (1983: 469). In fact, the influence of Chih Ch'ien's translations is pervasive in early Ling-pao texts, and it is possible that this great exegete had connections with the aristocracy in the area of Chiang-nan, particularly with the Ko 葛 family responsible for the compilation of the early Ling-pao texts (1983: 466-467). We see the influence of Chih Ch'ien's translations in such formulations as the Taoist set of ten precepts which are modeled upon those of the Buddhists, and the elaborate depictions of the five paradises which borrow heavily from descriptions of sukhâvatî.[83]

Bokenkamp believes that such massive borrowing is evidence of a calculated attempt to recruit Buddhist monks and lay persons into the emerging Ling-pao tradition. Commenting on the tactics of Ko Ch'ao-fu, who is thought to have authored the early Ling-pao canon, Bokenkamp says: "He imbued his Ling-pao scriptures not merely with exotic elements to compete with the perceived exoticism of a foreign religion. He also made them the vehicle for a cosmology with served to explain . . . Buddhism's evolution as a foreign branch of Taoism" (1983: 476).

> The persistent appeal of the Ling-pao scriptures lies in their simplification of the burgeoning complexity of both Buddhist and Taoist arcana according to the organizing principles of Han cosmology. The alignment of the dhâraṇî-like celestial script and the Ling-pao version of Sukhâvatî in accordance with the five phases as well as the implicit identification of the Heavenly Worthy of Prime Origin, already a transformation of the Grand Unity of Han state religion, with the Buddha, all represent a conscious attempt on the part of Ko Ch'ao-fu to impose a Chinese pattern on Buddhism. Once ensconced in a traditional ritual order, such elements of Buddhist cosmology as the thirty-three heavens formulation became somehow less formidable and more easily assimilable. (Bokenkamp 1983: 477)

Given the important place the Ling-pao scriptures were to hold in the later Taoist tradition, it would seem that Ko Ch'ao-fu knew what he was doing. And his cavalier borrowing from Buddhism set a precedent followed by numerous later compilers of Taoist scriptures, including the authors of ch'ung-hsüan scriptures and commentaries. Yet Taoism manages to remain a distinct tradition in China, with its own soteriological concerns, distinctive religious exercises, and its own brand of scholasticism -- the charting out of innumerable heavens with their gods and bureaucratic officers. Kohn puts the matter succinctly: "On the whole, Taoist philosophy of the T'ang dynasty could not be imagined without the influence of Buddhism yet it is also quite unique in its ingenious adaptations and developments of the foreign teaching. It is always and essentially an indigenous Chinese system, it forever begins with the Tao and returns to it" (1989c: 272-273).

> Every single item in the description of the process of Taoist mystical practice goes beyond its Buddhist appearance and is deeply

> rooted in the indigenous Chinese tradition. The world-view underlying the theory, the deeper reasons behind the practices, as well as the exact procedure of practice itself, can be traced back to Chinese thought well before the Buddhist conquest. (1989c: 285)

The same may be said for monastic Buddhism in China. Virtually every major element of doctrine, belief, and practice, can be traced back to Indian or Central Asian Buddhist sources. Yet, as we have seen above, the situation is complicated by the fact that each item is more or less subtly transformed as it is transposed into the Chinese cultural landscape. The following chapter will focus on some of the specifics of this transformation.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. The term "syncretism" first appears in Plutarch referring to "the behaviour of the Cretans who, despite the discord habitual among them, closed ranks when an external enemy attacked them" (Colpe 1986: 218). The term was used frequently in the latter half of the nineteenth century in the context of the study of religion and historical theology, meaning something like a mishmash of religions (religionsmischerei).

2. The Indian or Serindian "translator" was often responsible for reciting and/or explaining the original in his native tongue, while the actual task of producing a Chinese text was done by one or several Chinese "scribes" (pi-shou 筆受) with the help of bilingual translators. Maspero mentions the translation team of Chu Shuo-fo 竺朔佛 (a colleague of Lokakṣema), which translated the Pratyutpannasamâdhisûtra (Pan-chou san-mei ching 般舟三昧經) in 179 A.D. Chu Shuo-fo, who apparently knew no Chinese, was primarily responsible for reciting the original. The Indo-Scythian Chih Ch'an 支讖 then explained the text in Chinese to the native Chinese Meng Fu 孟福. Another Chinese, Chang Lien 張蓮, acted as scribe rendering the text in characters (Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi 出三藏記集 T.2145: 55.48c9-16; Maspero 1981: 405).

3. The notable exception is the study of Lin Chao-en by Judith Berling (1980), discussed below.

4. On the unity of the three teachings see especially Tokiwa 1930; Kubota 1943; Berling 1980; and Langlois and Sun 1983.

5. The first such debate was sponsored in 624 by T'ang Kao-tsu, with many more following. It would seem that political exigencies often dictated the selection of the "winner." See Lo Hisang-lin 1954.

6. The last few years have seen the publication of numerous English studies of p'an-chiao schemes. For an overview of the fifth-century origins of p'an-chiao in the exegetical innovations of Seng-jui 僧叡 (352-436), Chu Tao-sheng 竺道生 (355-434), and Hui-kuan 慧觀 (355-426), see Ochô 1981. An analysis of T'ien-t'ai p'an-chiao writings can be found in Hurvitz 1980: 214-271; Chappell 1976b; and Chappell et al. 1983. On Hua-yen see Cook 1970; Gregory 1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, and 1988; and Liu Ming-Wood 1981.

7. This is certainly the assumption by most of the contributors to the volume recently edited by Donald Lopez, Jr. (1988).

8. This fuzzy use of the term "hermeneutics" has been noted by McRae in his review of the Lopez volume Buddhist Hermeneutics. McRae notes: "Every single author adopts precisely the perspective of interpretive omniscience that is questioned so vigorously in modern hermeneutics"

(1989: 121).

9. Translating from the edition by Hirano 1970: 150. The current recension of this text was edited in 1374 by Miao-hsieh 妙叶. A somewhat free translation of the entire text is found in Blofeld 1972 (see especially pp. 101-103).

10. See Jan 1964: 366-368 for a discussion of Ch'i-sung's genealogical histories of the Ch'an sect.

11. The Fu-chiao p'ien is reproduced in the Hsin-chin wen chi 鐔津文集. T.2115: 52.657a18-22; cf. Nakamura 1964: 288.

12. Ch'i-sung's biography can be found in the Hsin-chin wen chi, T.2115: 52.648. See also Jan 1964: 364 ff.; and Franke ed. 1976: 185-194.

13. Nakamura attributes the popularity of the Lotus Sûtra in China to its "syncretic way of thinking." According to Nakamura: "One of the main thoughts in this sûtra is its acknowledgment of the enlightenment of those who practiced Hînayâna. . . . This spirit of tolerance and harmony nicely suited the syncretic tendency of Chinese thought" (Nakamura 1964: 290). Nakamura's reading of the Lotus is, needless to say, idiosyncratic at best. The Lotus does claim that followers of the lesser vehicle will eventually come to see the error of their ways, realize the truth of the One Vehicle, and eventually attain Buddhahood. But surely this is not evidence of tolerance and harmony. The Lotus is, among other things, a sustained attack upon the Hînayâna, which it disparages throughout.

14. The Wu-hsing lun and the Hsieh-mo lun are both included in the Hsiao-shih liu-men 小室六門, T.2009: 48.365a-377a. Textual notes on the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, Yüan-ming lun, and Wu fang-pien lun can be found below.

15. Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i 法華三昧懺儀, T.1941: 46.950a1-15. Translation follows Stevenson 1987: 474-475 with slight changes.

16. See Tsung-mi's Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü 禪源諸詮集都序, T.2015: 48.399a14-b6.

The paragraph above is a rather simplified account conflating a number of doctrines which all went under the rubric of "ch'an." Tsung-mi (780-841) is our primary source for untangling inter-Ch'an disputes during the "middle-period" of T'ang Ch'an. In the Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u 禪門師資承襲圖, Tsung-mi employs the analogy of the bright jewel confronted with a black object to highlight the differences between schools (ZZ.110.436c17-437b7; see edition and Japanese translation in Kamata 1971: 267-347). The Northern lineage 北宗 (Shen-hsiu, P'u-chi, etc.) know the jewel to be bright, and seeing blackness come to the conclusion that the blackness obscures the jewel's luminosity, and therefore must be removed. The Hung-chou lineage 洪州宗 (Ma-tzu and his

disciples) believe that the blackness (or any other color) is the brightness of the jewel -- the brightness seen free of any reflection will never be seen. This prevents them from perceiving the true luminosity of the jewel. The Niu-t'ou lineage 牛頭宗 believes that both the blackness and the luminosity of the jewel are empty and cannot be obtained. Finally the Ho-tse lineage 荷澤宗 (Shen-hui and Tsung-mi himself) claims that the luminosity of the jewel is the substance of the jewel itself, and the luminosity may be seen irrespective of the color reflected in the jewel (see Kamata 1971: 322-332; and Jan 1972: 51-53).

Although such polemics may illuminate features of Tsung-mi's thought, they misconstrue the doctrines of his opponents. Recent studies of the Northern School (Faure 1984; McRae 1986) have shown the common ascriptions of "gradualism" and "dualism" to be serious distortions. Indeed, the doctrines of Shen-hsiu bare a striking resemblance to those of Dôgen -- enlightenment is not to be gained, but expressed through constant practice (see McRae 1986: 251). And Jan Yün-Hua argues that the analogy of the black jewel, as used by Tsung-mi, actually shows agreement between the Hung-chou, Ox-head and Ho-tse schools (Jan 1972: 53 n.2). One need only scratch the surface of Tsung-mi's polemics to find that rivalries among early Ch'an teachers may have had more to do with claims to authority based on legitimate lines of descent than on differing attitudes towards practice. Of the major T'ang Ch'an lineages, only the Pao-t'ang lineage 保唐宗 of Wu-chu 無住 (714-774) may have actually advocated the abandoning of rites and practices altogether. But even here we rely primarily on the word of Tsung-mi who was highly critical of Wu-chu's radical doctrines. See the Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao 圓覺經大疏鈔 (ZZ.14.278c14-279a1), and the discussion in Yanagida 1983b.

17. The FAS society was begun after the war by Hisamatsu and some of his students at Kyoto University. "The name of our society -- F.A.S. -- refers to the three dimensions of human life, namely self, world and history as an inseparable whole. 'F' stands for the Formless self awakening itself, 'A' for taking the standpoint of All humankind, and 'S' for creating Suprahistorical history." (Shore trans. 1987: 18)

18. See Foulk 1987. I do not think the lack of evidence for Ch'an institutions in the T'ang precludes our use of the term "T'ang Ch'an." The term is still a convenient shorthand to refer to specific ideological developments in Chinese Buddhist thought, evidenced in a body of literature which proclaims itself to be of the "Ch'an persuasion," or "Ch'an lineage" (ch'an-tsung 禪宗). To put it somewhat differently, the locution "Ch'an lineage" is first and foremost a rhetorical device, employed in the legitimation and propagation of a highly polemic ideological position. As will be seen below, Ch'an ideology is misconstrued if understood as necessitating new forms of practice or new models of social organization. Ch'an dialectic is parasitic -- it is properly understood only when placed in the context of traditional medieval Buddhist monastic life.

19. I will speak of a "ritual" as consisting of a sequence of "rites."

There seems to be little in the way of standard English terminology for analyzing complex religious rituals. My use of "ritual" and "rite" follows Staal 1979.

20. I am thinking specifically of Propp's "morphological" analysis of folktales, where a wide variety of tales are shown to share a common syntagmatic structure (Propp 1968). Propp makes the somewhat hyperbolic assertion that all such folktales are really "one tale."

21. The general uniformity of Chinese Buddhist institutional procedures, devotional forms and ritual practices was maintained down to the early twentieth century. See the studies by Welch (1967) and Prip-Møller (1967).

This "morphological uniformity" may be illustrated by a rough comparison to the liturgies of mainstream Protestant denominations in America. The celebratory and confessional liturgies of churches throughout America, despite differences in doctrine, ethos, and values, share an underlying organizational structure, which reflect a common origin. A visitor to a church coming from a different denominational background experiences the service as made up of recognizable segments unfolding in a familiar way. The content and style may be quite new, yet the visitor has a sense of "where he is" as the liturgy unfolds. He already knows the grammar, so to speak, and thus is sensitive to local variation. Individual segments -- greetings, hymns, readings from scripture, teaching, eucharist (sometimes highly abbreviated), and so on -- comprise an overall organizational scheme and provide narrative structure.

The common structure of Church liturgies across a wide variety of sectarian lines can be traced in part to their common origin in the Jewish synagogue. Similarly, Stevenson has shown that the similar structure shared by liturgies in use during the North-South Dynasties, Sui, and Early T'ang can be traced to their common origins in Indian Buddhist liturgies. See Stevenson 1987: 439-464.

22. An extended treatment of this topic can be found in Sharf 1988.

23. This capsule summary of Ch'an lineage teaching first appears as a set in the <u>Tsu-t'ing</u> <u>shih-yüan</u> 祖庭事苑 (ZZ.113.66c11-12) compiled by Mu-an Shan-ch'ing 睦庵善卿 in 1108, although the individual phrases can be found in a variety of earlier sources. See Miura and Sasaki 1966: 229-230.

24. T.417. The various Tibetan and Chinese versions of this text have been studied by Paul Harrison (1978 and 1979).

25. Ch'en 1972: 107. For a description of Hui-yüan's activities see Zürcher 1972: 219-223; and Tsukamoto 1985: 757-898.

26. T.2070: 51.104a-108b. This text is considered extremely important in Japanese Pure Land scholarship, as it is one of the earliest surviv-

ing collections of Pure Land biographies. There are many problems concerning the dating of this text, however, since at least one of the figures appearing in the text, Emperor Hsi-tsung 僖宗帝 (r. 873-888) lived after the death of Shao-k'ang. For a summary of scholarship on this text, and a bibliography, see Mizuno et al. eds. 1977: 221.

27. For Hui-ssu see T.2071: 51.114b26-115a26, and for Chih-i 115a27-116a22.

28. Lo-pang wen-lei 樂邦文類, T.1969a: 47.192c18-193c26.

29. T.2035: 49.260c-265b. See also Seah 1975: 93. A partial English translation of the Fo-tsu t'ung-chi can be found in Jan 1966, and a detailed study of the text in Jan 1963.

30. Contained in Hônen's Kango tôroku 漢語燈録 (Jôdoshû zensho 淨土宗全書 9.417-431; see Seah 1975: 95). Hônen never seems to have settled on a definitive scheme of a Pure Land transmission going back to India.

31. On the early use and meaning of nien-fo see Ujitani 1954; Yoshioka Ryôon 1961; Harrison 1978; and Shih 1984: 38-105.

32. This is the case in the Wang-sheng hsi-fang ching-t'u jui-ying chuan, the Hsü kao-seng chuan, and so on.

33. T.2011: 48.377b17-18; cf. translation by McRae 1986: 123.

The Hsiu-hsin yao lun was published in Korea in 1570, and re-discovered in several manuscripts at Tun-huang (S.2669, S.3558, S.4064, S.6159, P.3559, P. 3434, P. 3777). It is traditionally attributed to the fifth patriarch, although this remains a matter of dispute among Japanese scholars. Detailed notes on the history of the text can be found in McRae 1986: 309-312, and an edition is included at the end of that volume. Translations may be found in McRae 1986: 121-132, and Pachow 1963. See also the discussion in Buswell 1989: 144 n.53.

34. T.2837: 85.1287b17-20; Yanagida 1971: 205. For a full study of the teachings of Tao-hsin see Chappell 1983. The Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi (S.2054; P.3436; T.2837: 85.1283a-1290c) has been edited and translated into Japanese by Yanagida 1971: 49-327. A French study and translation can be found in Faure 1984: tome II; and an often unreliable English translation in Cleary 1986: 17-78. The section on Tao-hsin (Yanagida 1971: 186-268) is believed to be identical with an independent work attributed to Tao-hsin himself, the Ju-tao an-hsin yao-fang-pien fa-men 入道安心要方便法門. On this latter work see McRae 1986: 119-120, and the introduction to Chappell 1983. The study by Chappell also contains a full translation of the Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men (1983: 107-121).

35. Ta p'in ching 大品經 (Pañcaviṃśatisâhasrikâ), T.223: 8.385c5.

36. S.646, S.2595, S.5532, P.2460, P.2657, P.4646, T.2833: 85.1270c-73b. For full textual information and a bibliography see McRae 1986: 325. An English translation can be found in Cleary 1986: 81-102.

37. Emend 言 to 意.

38. T.2832: 85.1270c1-5. For a discussion of this text see Sekiguchi 1957: 295-316. The origin of this list of ten benefits is unclear, although roughly the same list appears in Yen-shou's Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi 萬善同歸集 (T.2017: 48.962b7-11; a study of this text can be found in Welter 1986). It is quite possible that this passage concerning the invocation of the Buddha is a later addition to the Ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men (Sekiguchi 1957: 299-300).

39. Yanagida 1971: 420. For a discussion of the origins of the text see Yanagida 1967: 47-58, and McRae 1986: 86-88 and passim. An edition and Japanese translation can be found in Yanagida 1971: 328-435.

40. A biography of Fa-ch'ih can be found in the Ching-t'u wang-sheng chuan 淨土往生傳, T.2071: 51.119c24-120a9. See also Sekiguchi 1957: 314-316.

41. Various versions of this text, under differing titles, have been recovered at Tun-huang, the most important being S.2503, P.2058, and P.2270, and it has been published as T.2834: 85. Textual information can be found in McRae 1986: 327-330. Editions are available in Ui 1939: 447-510, and Suzuki 1968-71: 3.153-253. For a composite translation of the various manuscripts see McRae 1986: 171-196.

42. On the Szechwan schools see especially Broughton 1983. On the use of nien-fo in these schools see Sekiguchi 1957: 303-316.

43. T.2075: 51.185a11-15; Yanagida 1976: 143. Cf. Broughton 1983: 37.

44. Broughton 1983: 34. Different versions of this text can be found in P.2690 and P.2963. For a study and edition see Ueyama 1976.

45. See Sekiguchi 1957: 303, and Broughton 1983: 36-37.

46. See Sekiguchi 1957: 303; cf. translation in Jan 1972: 49.

47. The Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei (ZZ.111.438a-471c) has been edited and translated by Kagashima et al. 1972. It is one of the earliest surviving accounts of regulations governing a Sung Buddhist monastery. The Ju-chung jih-yung ch'ing-kuei is found in ZZ.111.472a-474b. The text has also found its way into chüan 6 of the Ch'ih-hsiu pai-chang ch'ing-kuei 勅修百丈清規 under the title Jih-yung kuei-fan 日用軌範 (T.2025: 48.1144b5-1146b8).

48. T.1969a: 47.193c; cf. Bielefeldt 1988: 67.

49. Kagashima et al. 1972: 48 and 219. The recitation of the names of the ten Buddhas prior to meals is still practiced today by monks in most sects of East Asian Buddhism.

50. T.2035: 49.260c23-24.

51. Recent studies of the life and thought of Yen-shou can be found in Shih 1984; and Welter 1986 and 1988. Shih's study is marred by an uncritical reliance on traditional accounts of Yen-shou's life, a shortfall remedied by Welter. Both scholars, however, accept the notion that Pure Land was a "school" in China, doctrinally at odds with Ch'an, and thus in need of "synthesis." Welter claims, for example, citing texts such as the Platform Sutra, that "long-standing antagonism existed between Pure Land adherents and those of the Ch'an school" (Welter 1986: 164). I have argued above that comments in Ch'an materials denigrating a simplistic understanding of the nature of the Pure Land should not be read as a literal rejection of Pure Land style practice.

52. McRae 1986: 202. This term is actually borrowed from Chih-i's analysis of exegetical approaches to the Lotus, where "Contemplative analysis" or Kuan-hsin shih refers to the fourth and highest mode of interpretation (see the first chüan of the Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching wen-chü 妙法蓮華経文句 by Chih-i, T.1718: 34). See also McRae 1986: 201-205 and 339-340; and Faure 1984: 101-102. The translation "contemplative analysis" is that of McRae.

53. T.2017: 48.966c3-5; cf. Shih 1984: 208-209.

54. Chiao-hu chi 角虎集 ZZ.109.269c7-12; trans. follows Shih (1984: 263-264) with minor changes. The Chiao-hu chi was edited in the year 1770 by Chi-neng 濟能. According to the text's preface, it records the teachings of those who followed in the tradition of Yen-shou in so far as they sought to explicate the harmony between Pure Land and Ch'an. It contains selections from the recorded sayings of a total of fifty-nine Ch'an masters.

55. From the Mahâvastu I, quoted in Lamotte 1976: 276. Lamotte discusses the buddhakṣetra concept at length in 1976: 275-284. See also the article on butsudo 佛土 in Hôbôgirin 3.198-203; and the comprehensive though dated study by Rowell 1934.

56. This passage was apparently popular in Ch'an circles, as it is found quoted in a number of Ch'an related texts, including the PTL (145c10-11). See also the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi T.2837: 85.1283b; Yanagida 1971: 67.

57. T.1775: 38. This commentary was composed sometime between the translation of the sûtra by Kumârajîva in 406 and Seng-chao's death in 414.

58. T.1775: 38.334b; Chappell 1977: 27-28.

59. T.1851: 44.835a24-25, quoting from T.1522: 26.174a5-6. See the discussion in Chappell 1977: 28-32.

60. For Hui-yüan's extended use of the distinction between the True Land and the Response Land see the Ta-ch'eng i-chang, T.1851: 44.834a8-837c6. See also the discussion in Chappell 1987: 26-36.

61. See Corless 1987: 41-42 and passim for a discussion of the manner in which T'an-luan's understanding of the Pure Land, and the visualization practices he advocates, seem to be influenced by Taoist cosmology and inner alchemy.

62. Wu-liang shou-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she yüan-sheng chieh-chu 無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈註 T.1819: 40.830a17-20; translation follows Corless (1987: 38) with minor changes.

63. See T.1819: 40.833a23-26, 840a23 ff., and Corless 1987: 41.

64. For an English treatment of Tao-ch'o's understanding of the Pure Land see Chappell 1976a and 1977. Tao-ch'o, like those before him, insists that the Pure Land, seen from the point of view of its essential nature, is neither pure nor defiled (Chappell 1977: 37-38, referring to the An-lo chi 安樂集, T.1958: 47.6b7-8). On Shan-tao see Pas 1973, 1974 and 1987a.

65. Chinese "Pure Land" exegetes explain "other power" as a "response" (ying 應) to three conditions: faith (hsin 信), vow (yüan 願), and practice (hsing 行). See Shih 1984: 223.

66. On honji-suijaku see especially the full length study by Alicia Matsunaga (1969).

67. The belief in the magical efficacy of certain words has Taoist as well as Buddhist antecedents. T'an-luan, who offers a particularly explicit statement concerning the magical power of certain Buddhist terms, seems to have been influenced by both traditions (Corless 1987: 40). We read in his Wang-sheng lun-chu 往生論註:

> There are ten thousand different things, and they cannot all be ranked alike, There are names which are the same as things, and there are names which are other than things. The Names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the Prajñâpâramitâ with its dhâranî, spells, and suchlike spoken phrases, are all "names which are the same as things."
>
> Suppose one wishes to conjure away an oedema; one says, JIH-CH'U TUNG-FANG / CHA CH'IH, CHA HUANG, etc. If one casts the spell between six o'clock and ten o'clock at night, the oedema will go away, without concerning oneself about the sunrise. Again, when set in the front line [of a battle], one merely intones, LIN PING / TOU-CHE CHIE CH'EN-LIEH TSAI CH'IEN through one's teeth: inton-

ing these nine characters, the five weapons will not hit one. The Pao p'u-tzu regards this as quite true. Again, if one suffers from a twisted ligament, a hot quince poultice will cure it: but even if someone merely calls out the word, "quince," he will be cured. In our own bodies we have obtained these results: they are familiar things, all the world knows of them, how much more true must it be, then, for things in the inconceivable realm! The simile of the antidote-drum is of this latter sort. . . "Names which are other than things" are like the "finger indicating the moon." (T.1819: 40.835b-c; trans. Corless 1973: 220-221)

68. I am drawing, of course, on the pre-eminent scholar of the period, Emile Zürcher (1972, 1977, 1980, 1981, and 1982b).

69. Smith 1982: 63. Smith has built a powerful theory of ritual from an analysis of this gap between what people say is the case, and what people actually know to be the case:

> I would suggest that, among other things, ritual represents the creation of a controlled environment where the variables (i.e., the accidents) of ordinary life may be displaced precisely because they are felt to be so overwhelmingly present and powerful. Ritual is a means of performing the way things ought to be in conscious tension to the way things are in such a way that this ritualized perfection is recollected in the ordinary uncontrolled, course of things. Ritual relies for its power on the fact that it is concerned with quite ordinary activities, that what it describes and displays is, in principle, possible for every occurrence of these acts. But it relies, as well, for its power on the perceived fact that, in actuality, such possibilities cannot be realized.
>
> There is a "gnostic" dimension to ritual. It provides the means for demonstrating that we know what ought to have been done, what ought to have taken place. But, by the fact that it is ritual action rather then everyday action, it demonstrates that we know "what is the case." From such a perspective, ritual is not best understood as congruent with something else -- a magical imitation of desired ends, a translation of emotions, a symbolic acting out of ideas, a dramatization of a text, or the like. Ritual gains force where incongruency is perceived and thought about. (Smith 1982: 63)

70. Many folklorists prefer to distinguish legend from myth; the former being narratives set in the "recent past" (i.e., in historical time), and the latter narratives set in the "remote past." According to this distinction, mythic narratives are typically set in a time before time, in a world not wholly contiguous with our own. This might lead some scholars to designate scriptural accounts of the Buddha's life "legend" rather than "myth."

I think the distinction between legend and myth is of little value to the scholar of Buddhism in general, and Chinese Buddhism in particular. Bascom notes that for those who live by myth, the narratives are no less true or "historical" for being otherworldly (1984: 9-11). Pali Canon depictions of the "historical Buddha" are replete with "mythic" elements, and Mahâyâna accounts of Śâkyamuni's life stress not historical particularities, but rather the unvarying pattern common to the lives of all Buddhas. Mahâyâna sûtra depictions of the historical Buddha employ literary devices typical of mythic narrative, framing the story such that it transcends historical time and space. (See especially the grand openings to the Lotus and the Lankâvatâra, and the narrative framework of the larger Sukhâvatîvyûha.)

In China, a country where the writing of history was always recognized as a vehicle for ideological and moral exegesis, the distinction between legend and myth is even more suspect. I will accoringly ignore the distinction, and retain the term "myth" in its more general sense.

71. Most notable in this area is the work of Gregory Schopen, whose articles have considerably altered our understanding of Indian Buddhism in general, and cult worship associated with Mahâyâna in particular. See especially Schopen 1975, 1977, 1979, 1984, 1985, 1987a, and 1987b.

72. Among the many contemporary studies, many by anthropologists, which support this view are the collection of papers edited by Bechert 1978; Stein 1972: 191-247; Spiro 1967 and 1970 (esp. pp. 186-187); Tambiah 1970 and 1984; and Gombrich 1988.

73. I have argued that the Cartesian split between mind and body is the basis for our distinction between ritual and meditation, and is quite foreign to Chinese modes of thought (Sharf 1988: 14-19). For an analysis of the evolution of the "religious experience" idea in the West see Proudfoot 1985.

74. T'ang Yung-t'ung notes that in both the case of Liu Ying and Emperor Huan, Buddhism is associated with the worship of Huang-lao in connection with Taoist sacrifices (1955: 54-55). See also Zürcher 1972: 26-27; and Ch'en 1972: 48-49.

75. Baird 1971: 148, drawing upon William Ernest Hocking The Coming World Civilization (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1956): 147.

76. See Creel 1970: 48-78, and 1974: 176-179.

77. Chih Tun's biography can be found in chüan 4 of the Kao-seng chuan (T.2059: 50.348b8-349c22), and he figures prominently in the Shih-shuo shin-yü as well (Mather 1976: 508-509 and passim). See also Zürcher 1972: 116-130; and Tsukamoto 1985: 338-361.

78. T.2059: 50.348c10-19. See the translation and discussion in Kohn

1989c: 211-218. Kohn's translation tends to obscure some of the Buddhist allusions in the text -- although this may be because Kohn's scholarly background encourages a Taoist reading of Chih Tun, and my own training favors a Buddhist reading.

79. On the Great Schemata (ta-hsiang 大象) see the following chapter, as well as the commentary to chapter 1 of the PTL.

80. T.2059: 50.349b2-6; cf. translation in Zürcher 1972: 122. The quote at the end of the passage is from the Analects 17:19.

81. This topic was also taken up by Fo-t'u-teng, who claims that as long as capital punishment is meted out by law in accordance with just rules the ruler will not bear the karmic burden. See Zürcher 1972: 121-123.

82. See Ofuchi 1979b; Strickmann 1978a; Bokenkamp 1983; and Zürcher 1980.

83. Bokenkamp 1983: 470-473. The tenth Taoist precept is particularly noteworthy, being a form of the Bodhisattva vow: "If all beings have not yet obtained the Tao, I will not entertain aspirations."

CHAPTER 3

CHINESE BUDDHISM AND THE COSMOLOGY OF SYMPATHETIC RESONANCE

Bernard is right. The pathogen is nothing; the terrain is everything.

Pasteur on his death-bed

A. Introduction

The previous chapter explored some of the problems entailed in the study of Chinese religious "syncretism." I argued that the term "syncretism" all too often masks an "essentialist" conception of religious history -- a reduction of complex social forces into interactions between discrete lineages and schools. We should be careful not to uncritically accept "Indian Buddhism," the "Ch'an school," the "Pure Land lineage" and the like as referring to historical entities until we have adequately understood the ideological and polemic domain in which such terms function.

Once we abandon the conception of Chinese Buddhist history as revolving around the growth, development, and interaction of more-or-less discrete schools, it becomes even more difficult to characterize the "Chinese transformation of Buddhism." Nevertheless, this chapter will make a stab at precisely this task. We will examine the manner in which the Chinese inadvertently incorporated distinctively sinitic conceptions of the universe into their expressions of "Indian" Buddhist doctrine. Specifically, we will look at the late Chou and early Han notions of "cosmic resonance" and the manner in which this metaphysical theory subtly influenced the Chinese understanding of the nature of the

sage, the Buddha, and the interaction between practitioner and deity in invocation practices.

B. The Sinification of Buddhism

The manner in which the Chinese appropriated Buddhism resists generalization or simplification. At times Buddhist elements were adopted into native Chinese traditions in such a seemingly random and superficial manner that they lose virtually all of their "Buddhist" significance, as was the case with the Buddha-like figures appropriated by Shang-ch'ing Taoists in the third and fourth centuries. These iconic forms were so thoroughly re-contextualized that they no longer merit the designation "Buddhist" at all. If the representation of the Buddha as a Taoist deity can be considered one extreme in the sinification of Buddhism, the other extreme is to be found in the fully developed exegetical traditions of the Sui and T'ang periods. Traditions such as T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen bear witness to a familiarity with a wide variety of Indian Buddhist scriptures and commentaries, and a sophisticated understanding of Mahâyâna dialectic, epistemology and soteriology. In between these two extremes we can place the writings of Chih Tun, characteristic of the early Six Dynasties period, in which we find conceptual structures which are indubitably Indian in origin, recast in the language of Taoist and hsüan-hsüeh metaphysics.

Yet even the developed Buddhist schools of the Sui and T'ang remain unmistakably sinitic. Certain fundamental attitudes, metaphysical assumptions, styles of discourse, modes of reasoning, and "forms of life" (to borrow a phrase from Wittgenstein), remain in many respects traditionally Chinese. Classical Chinese cosmology impinges itself upon Chinese Buddhism in subtle but all-pervasive ways. The status of classical Chinese cosmology vis-a-vis Chinese Buddhism can perhaps be compared to that of pre-Buddhist Indian cosmology vis-a-vis early Buddhist thought. By the sixth-century B.C., notions such as karma, saṃsâra,

rebirth, and dharma were widely and unquestioningly accepted in the culture into which the Buddha was born, and constitute the very fabric from which the Buddha fashioned his doctrine. In China, indigenous concepts such as sympathetic resonance (kan-ying 感應), pattern or principle (li 理), vital energies (ch'i 氣), intrinsic nature (hsing 性) and sagehood (sheng 聖) play a roughly analogous role in the development of a native Chinese Buddhism.

It is difficult to overemphasize the pervasive force of classical cosmology in virtually all aspects of pre-modern Chinese thought. Late Chou and Han theories concerning spontaneous interaction among categorically related elements (to be discussed below) exercised a strong and persistent influence in the areas of medicine, alchemy, astronomy, calendric science, and government policy throughout the medieval period. It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that classical cosmology profoundly affected the Chinese understanding of Buddhist monastic practice and ritual activity as well. The Chinese may have engaged in Indian practices and adopted an Indian formulation of the path, but the precise relationship between practice and attainment -- soteriological cause and effect -- may still have been understood in native terms.

The fact that Indian and Chinese Buddhists engaged in similar practices is not, in itself, evidence that they were cognitively "doing the same thing." This point may seem obvious, but it is nevertheless easily overlooked. Two persons may outwardly undertake the same religious discipline and ritual activity, and yet have substantially different conceptions of what it is they are doing. Many American Buddhists, for example, have become ardent practitioners of Theravâdin vipassanâ meditation, engaging in activities outwardly identical to those of their South Asian mentors. They follow the same daily schedule, perform the same incantations, and assume the same meditation posture while reflecting upon the same mental and physical processes. Yet the cosmological and metaphysical assumptions -- the Weltanschauung -- which continues to motivate many American Buddhists is far removed

from that prevalent in Thailand or Burma. American vipassanâ practitioners are typically inveigled by a paradigm of personal growth rooted in the discourse of contemporary psychology (often a potpourri of gestalt, Jungian analysis, trans-personal psychology, and so on). Practitioners see in meditation a path of "self-discovery," a means of attaining psychological insight which promises freedom from obsessive thoughts and neurotic behavior and provides greater meaning and fulfillment in life and personal relationships. Such notions, which render meditation a form of psychotherapy, tacitly affirm a Western model of an autonomous self or ego -- a view quite foreign to traditional Theravâdin conceptions of the path.

Although Chinese Buddhists articulate their religious ideals in terms drawn from Indian texts -- "Buddha," "Tathâgata," "bodhisattva," and so on -- the manner in which these ideal archetypes are conceived is often profoundly informed by indigenous conceptions of the sage or saint. This chapter will begin with a discussion of Chinese cosmology, focusing on what Needham has called "correlative thinking" and the related notion of sympathetic resonance. As this area has already been made the subject of numerous Western language monographs and articles, I will present no more than a brief overview of this complex subject.[1] I will then proceed to examine the manner in which this cosmology informed the Chinese understanding of Buddhist doctrine and practice.

C. The Five Phases and Correlative Thinking

The Chinese conception of the universe as an interconnected harmonious whole finds expression in theories concerning the cyclic progression of the five phases (wu-hsing 五行) and the yin and yang, as well as in the elaborate prescriptions pertaining to the ritual life of the court.[2] The universe, according to this view, is in a state of continual motion and flux. The patterns of change are the result of the cyclic interactions of the five phases and the forces (or "pneuma,"

"breaths," ch'i 氣) of yin and yang, which tend naturally in the direction of rhythmic balance and harmony. Man and society do not stand apart from the natural universe, but constitute a fundamental and integral part of the whole. The relationships manifest in the patterns of the night sky are reproduced in the bureaucratic structure of government as well as in the internal structure of the human organism. The regular movements of the heavens accord with the changes of the seasons, the rise and fall of dynasties, the rhythms of the biosphere, and patterns of victory or defeat in war. Everything moves to the beat of the same cosmic drummer whose syncopated rhythms are captured in the hexagrams of the I-ching oracle. The Chinese arts of divination and prognostication are integrally connected to the cosmological vision of holistic unity.

Joseph Needham seems to have been the first to employ the metaphor of "organism" to elucidate the holistic Chinese view of a single, interdependent universe, and the "organismic" model has been widely accepted and employed by Western sinologists ever since.[3] In order to bring Chinese cosmology into better focus, Needham drew a sharp contrast between the Chinese vision of organic unity and analogous Western conceptions of uniform "laws of nature:"

> The Chinese world-view, depended upon a totally different line of thought [than that of the West]. The harmonious cooperation of all beings arose, not from the orders of a superior authority external to themselves, but from the fact that they were all parts in a hierarchy of wholes forming a cosmic pattern, and what they obeyed were the internal dictates of their own natures. (Needham 1951: 230)

The organismic view entails the notion that localized phenomena affect the state of the whole, and the state of the whole is reflected in local phenomena. This holistic conception of the universe was much more than an abstract metaphysical hypothesis -- it could be observed, tested, and applied in the fields of divination, politics, and the arts.

Tradition holds that Tsou Yen (c. 250 B.C.), the father of the so-called "Naturalists" (Needham's rendering of the term yin-yang chia 陰陽

家), originated the five-phase/yin-yang system, while Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (179-104 B.C.?) is credited with turning this system into a full-fledged cosmology.[4] The fundamental ingredients for correlative thought, however, are found scattered throughout the Chou classics, and clearly predate Tsou Yen. The earliest extant literary references to the five phases are found in the Hung-fan 洪範 ("Great Plan") chapter of the Shang-shu 尚書. The dating of this chapter is a subject of some controversy, as indeed is true of all the chapters of the Shang-shu, but most would agree that the Hung-fan is a post-Confucian work which predates the second-century B.C.[5] Most of the characteristic elements of the later fully developed five-phase system can be traced to a few scattered references in the Hung-fan such as the following:

> I have heard that of old time K'wan dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. . . . Of the five elements -- The first is named water; the second, fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; the fifth, earth. The nature of water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and to be straight; of metal, to obey and to change; while the virtue of earth is seen in seed-sowing and ingathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which obeys and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and ingathering comes sweetness.[6]

Mention of the five phases can also be found in the Kan-shih 甘誓 chapter of the same text, which further connects the harmonious well-being of the state to the fulfillment of ritual duty on the part of the ruler: "The prince of Hoo wildly wastes and despises the five elements, and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end the favor it has shown to him" (Legge 1961: 3.153).

Vitaly Rubin has put forward the somewhat speculative but nonetheless compelling thesis that the theory of the five phases was originally independent from the notion of yin-yang (Rubin 1982). Rubin designates the early five-phase scheme, as outlined in the Hung-fan, a "primitive

classification scheme" à la Durkheim and Levi-Strauss. According to Rubin's reading of the Shang-shu, the five phases originally constituted a spatial model as opposed to the temporal model of the cyclic activity of yin and yang. The system of repeating five-phase cycles which became popular in the Han is, according to Rubin, the result of the synthesis of the two systems by Tsou Yen and his followers.

The few remaining fragments from Tsou Yen's work take the Hung-fan a step further in claiming that each of the five phases (Earth, Wood, Metal, Fire, Water) comes to dominate in turn by conquering the one preceding. This establishes a cyclic pattern which is manifest in the succession of dynasties, each of which bears the characteristics of the phase (hsing) with which it is associated. The Han period saw the proliferation of numerous variations in both the sequence itself and the manner in which the sequential order was understood. Eberhard has shown that of a total of thirty-six possible sequences, sixteen are actually found in the Han and pre-Han texts he had at his disposal.[7] In addition, the five phases were correlated with innumerable other groupings of five, including the five seasons, five cardinal points, five tastes, five smells, five musical notes, five planets, five ministries, five colors, five instruments, five grains, five sacrifices, five organs, five emotions, and on and on. Indeed, Eberhard has listed over a hundred of them, which vary significantly from text to text.[8] It is apparent that we are not so much dealing with a single theory as a mode of theorizing, one which was not without its detractors. Yet it proved to be tremendously influential not only in later Confucian and Taoist thought, but in Buddhist exegetics as well. (The proliferation of five-tiered p'an-chiao schemes is but one Chinese Buddhist innovation which suggests itself here.)[9]

This tendency to analyze the world in terms of a limited number of "natural categories" or "classes" (lei 類) became one of the hallmarks of Chinese cosmological thinking. The translation of lei as "natural category" or "class," however, is unfortunate if unavoidable, as lei,

like hsing ("phase"), is properly conceived of as an active force rather than as a static category. As Munakata observed: "Every existence, substantial as well as phenomenal, is a product of a certain combination of the basic forces of yin and yang. Thus it is very natural to think that a thing or a phenomenon is at once a physical being and a force which interacts with other forces" (Munakata 1983: 106).

One particularly striking characteristic of the Chinese system is the manner in which such categories, and the objects within categories, are related to each other by virtue of their position within a fixed sequence. Referred to as "coordinative" and "correlative thinking" by Needham and "categorical thinking" by Bodde,[10] it is here that we most vividly see the Chinese penchant for seeing repeating pattern and order throughout the cosmos. Bodde explains "categorical thinking" as follows:

> Among items belonging to a common category, a particular affinity exists between those having the same relative position within their respective sequences. For example, the property common to such diverse items as fire, summer, south, bitter taste, burning smell, heat, the planet Mars, feathered creatures, beans, the hearth sacrifice, the lungs, the tongue, joy and many more, is that each of them is number two within its particular sequence of five. Affinities of this kind should be thought of as functioning more along lines of spontaneous response (the response of one stringed instrument to another the same in pitch) or of mutual attraction (the attraction between iron and the lode stone), than of mechanical impulsion (the impact of one billiard ball upon another).
>
> It is evident that such correlations not only cut across the usual categories of time and space, the abstract and the concrete, but also bridge the apparent gap between the human and the natural worlds. These two worlds, in fact, actually merge to form a single continuum, the halves of which are so closely interwoven that the slightest pull or strain on the one spontaneously induces corresponding pull or strain on the other. (Bodde 1981d: 351-352)

D. Sympathetic Resonance

The Shih-shou hsin-yü (4.61) records a most interesting, although probably apocryphal, exchange between the Buddhist monk Hui-yüan and Yin Chung-k'an:

> Yin Chung-k'an once asked the monk Hui-yüan: "What is the essence 體 of the I-ching?" Hui-yüan replied: "Stimulus-response 感 is the essence of the I-ching." Yin said: "When the bronze mountain 銅山 collapsed in the west and the numinous bell 靈鐘 responded 應 in the east, is that [what you mean by] the I-ching?" Hui-yüan smiled without answering.[11]

This refers to a story extant in at least two versions. In the biography of Fan Ying 樊英 found in the Hou-han shu 後漢書 (112a.14b-17a) we read that during the reign of Han Shun Ti (r.126-144) a bell below the Emperor's hall sounded of itself. Fan Ying explained: "Min Mountain in Shu (Szechwan) has collapsed. Mountains are mothers in relation to bronze. When the mother collapses the child cries." In due time Shu reported that indeed a mountain collapsed, and the time of the collapse matched precisely the time the bell had sounded. Another version of the story has a palace bell ringing by itself for three days and nights during the reign of Han Wu Ti (r.140-87 B.C.). An astrologer explained: "Bronze is the child of the mountains, and mountains the mother of bronze. Speaking in terms of the Yin and Yang, the child and mother are responding to each other. I'm afraid some mountain is about to collapse, and that's why the bell is first crying out." News of the collapse of a mountain more than twenty li distant arrived after three days (Mather 1976: 123-124).

The spontaneous response of the bronze bell to the collapse of the Bronze Mountain many li distant is an apt illustration of the principle of kan-ying 感應, "stimulus-response" or "sympathetic resonance." This is a mode of seemingly spontaneous response (though not in the sense of "uncaused") natural to a universe conceived holistically in terms of pattern and inter-dependent order. Resonance is the mechanism through

which categorically related but spatially distant phenomena interact. It would seem that the development of correlative systems preceded the notion of sympathetic resonance, and Henderson has argued that the former need not entail the latter -- not all correlated phenomena resonate with each other (Henderson 1984: 22-25). Be that as it may, by the Han the notion of resonance was explicitly used to explain or rationalize the mechanism behind the elaborate system of correlated categories generally referred to as five-phase thought.

The notion of "sympathetic resonance" is deceptively simple: objects belonging to the same category or class spontaneously "resonate" with each other just as do two similarly tuned strings on a pair of zithers. One of the earliest references to the resonant behavior of musical instruments -- no doubt the single most persuasive illustration of the principle of resonance -- appears in the Chuang-tzu:

> [The Master] tuned two lutes, placed one in the hall, and the other in an inner room. When he struck the kung note on one lute, the kung on the other lute sounded; when he struck the chüeh note, the other chüeh note sounded -- the pitch of the two instruments was in perfect accord. (66/24/43-44; trans. Watson 1968: 267-268)

The phenomena of sympathetic resonance between pairs of stringed instruments is similarly noted in a number of influential Han texts, including the Huai-nan-tzu, the Ch'u-tz'u, and the Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu.[12] The principle behind the phenomena, sometimes referred to as "mutual-resonance" or "co-response" (hsiang-ying 相應), is explicitly articulated and generalized in the Wen-yen 文言 commentary to the first hexagram of the I-ching:

> Things that accord in tone vibrate together 同聲相應. Things that have affinity in their inmost natures seek one another. Water flows to what is wet, fire turns to what is dry. Clouds, [the breath of heaven], follow the dragon; wind, [the breath of earth], follows the tiger. Thus the sage arises, and all creatures follow him with their eyes. What is born of heaven feels related to what is above. What is born of earth feels related to what is below. Each follows its kind 則各從其類也. (Honda 1978: 55; trans. Wilhelm 1967: 382)

In addition to the behavior of musical instruments, the mating behavior of animals, in which "like attracts like," served as yet another illustration of the principle of sympathetic resonance. This is stated quite elegantly in the poem Miu chien 謬諫 in the Ch'u tz'u:

> Like sounds harmonize together; creatures mate with their own kind. The flying bird cries out to the flock. The deer calls, searching for his friends. If you strike kung, then kung responds; If you hit chüeh, then chüeh vibrates. The tiger roars, and the wind of the valley comes; The dragon soars, and the radiant clouds come flying.[13]

With the writings of Tung Chung-shu, the notion of mutual resonance is elevated to a full-fledged cosmological theory elucidated in chapter 57 of his Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu 春秋繁露 called "Mutual Activation of Similar Categories" (t'ung-lei hsiang-tung 同類相動).[14]

> If water is poured on level ground, it will avoid the parts which are dry and move towards those that are wet. If [two] identical pieces of firewood are exposed to fire, the latter will ignore the damp and ignite the dry one. All things reject what is different [to themselves] and follow what is akin. Thus it is that if [two] ch'i are similar, they will coalesce; if notes correspond, they resonate. The experimental proof of this is extraordinarily clear. Try tuning musical instruments. The kung note or the shang note struck upon one lute will be answered by the kung or shang notes from other stringed instruments. They sound by themselves. This is nothing miraculous but the Five Notes being in relation; they are what they are according to Numbers [whereby the world is constructed].
>
> [Similarly] lovely things summon others among the class of lovely things; repulsive things summon others among the class of repulsive things. This arises from the complementary way in which a thing of the same class responds -- as for instance if a horse whinnies another horse whinnies in answer, and if a cow lows another cow lows in response.[15]

Tung Chung-shu goes beyond simply invoking resonance as the mainspring behind correlative schemes; he explains the phenomena of resonance as effected through the agency or medium of ch'i, subtle material forces, "breaths," or "ethers," which pervade the cosmos and enliven all things. In so doing, Tung Chung-shu may well have been

drawing upon early traditions which correlated the "six ch'i" with the five tastes, the five colors, the five sounds, and so on.[16]

> When Heaven is about to make the yin rain down, men fall sick; that is, there is a movement prior to the actual event. It is the yin beginning its complementary response 相應. Also when Heaven is about to make the yin rain down, men feel sleepy. This is the ch'i of the yin . . . . Heaven has the yin and yang, and so has man. When the yin ch'i of Heaven and Earth begins [to dominate], the yin ch'i of man responds by taking the lead also. Or if the yin ch'i of man begins to advance, the yin ch'i of heaven and Earth must by rights respond to it by rising also. Their Tao is one. Those who are clear about this [know that] if rain is to come, then the yin must be activated and its influence set to work. If the rain is to stop, then the yang must be activated and its influence set to work. [In fact], there is no reason at all for assuming anything miraculous [lit. connected with spirits, shen 神] about the causation and onset of rain, though [indeed] its rationale [li 理] is profoundly mysterious.[17]

> It is not only the two ch'i of the yin and the yang which advance and retreat according to their categories. Even the origins of the varied fortunes, good and bad, of men behave in the same way. There is no happening that does not depend for its beginning upon something prior, to which it responds because [it belongs to the same] category, and so moves 無非已先起之而物以類應之而動者也.[18]

The Huai-nan-tzu 淮南子 ranks a close second to Tung Chung-shu as a source for "sympathetic resonance" theory in the Han period. The notion of resonance is a central concern underlying much of the work, but is found discussed in detail in chapter 6, Lan-ming hsün 覽冥訓 ("Peering into the Obscure"). Le Blanc has interpreted this chapter as an attempt to synthesize two kinds of Taoism -- the contemplative and the purposive -- through the cosmology of resonance (kan-ying). In the scheme of the Huai-nan-tzu, the phenomena of resonance is explained as a vestige of the common origin of all things in the Tao. Resonance therefore points the way back to the origin: "Kan-ying is the persistent affinity and attraction of things that were originally one in the Tao, but that became separated in time and space, when the world began; through mutual stimulus and response, through affinitive resonance, things tend to return to their original state" (Le Blanc 1978: 321).

The descriptions of resonance in the Huai-nan-tzu are accordingly cast in a somewhat "mystical" rhetoric reminiscent of the Tao-te ching. Nonetheless, the text is most effective at evoking the ethos of the resonant Han cosmos:

> The mutual response of things belonging to the same category is darkly mysterious and extremely subtle. Knowledge cannot explain it, nor discussion unravel it 夫物類之相應玄妙深微知不能論辯不能解. Thus, when the eastern wind arises, clear wine overflows. When the silkworm exudes fresh silk, the string of the shang note snaps. Something has stirred them 或感之也. When a drawing [of the moon] is traced in ashes, the moon's halo becomes incomplete [in accordance with the drawing]. When a whale dies, brush-stars [comets] appear. Something has activated them." (Huai-nan-tzu 6/3a-b; trans. Le Blanc 1978: 193)

The sympathetic response among things of the same category is referred to in later literature as kan-lei 感類 ("sympathy between [like] classes"). This term can be traced to Wang Ch'ung (27-97 A.D.?) of the Han, although expressions such as chao-lei 召類 ("inviting [those of the same] category") or i lei hsiang tung 依類相動 ("mutual interaction in accordance with [a shared] category"), frequently appear in late Chou and early Han writings referring to the same principle (Munakata 1983: 107). Needham believed that such concepts were amenable to an analysis along the lines of Frazer's theory of magic -- his "law of similarity" which states simply that "like produces like," and his "law of contiguity or contagion," "according to which things which have been in contact but which are so no longer, continue to act upon one another" (Needham 1956: 280).

The history of the term lei 類 gives an indication of the antiquity of ideas of holism and sympathetic resonance in China. The term appears in the Chou referring to a type of sacrificial ritual which itself can be traced to the Shang.[19] Munakata, using evidence from both Shang oracle bone inscriptions and Chou texts, concludes that this sacrifice was directed towards the deity Shang-ti and performed at chiao 郊 altars located in the vicinity of the royal court. It seems to have been a means of reporting to Shang-ti or requesting favors in conjunc-

tion with military campaigns and natural calamities (Munakata 1983: 109). Most significantly, it was used not only to make present powerful celestial forces, but to actually influence such forces (1983: 110).

The mechanism behind the lei sacrifice is akin to that of the early rain-making rituals such as the one described in the "Ch'iu yü" 求雨 section of Tung Chung-shu's Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu.[20] Rain-making often involved ritual exposure, either of a woman as is seen in Shang and Chou sources, a shaman (wu 巫) as was more common in the Han, or a Buddhist or Taoist monk or even the emperor, as is recorded throughout medieval times (Schafer 1951). In such ritual exposure the supplicant (or victim) is exposed to the sun, sometimes naked, thereby subjecting the body to the same adverse effects suffered by the parched earth in times of drought. From the time of Six Dynasties down through the Sui and T'ang, one also finds examples of self-immolation as part of rain-making rituals, presumably to exaggerate the effects of simple exposure to the sun's heat. Schafer believes that such rituals were attempts to coerce the rain gods by eliciting their compassion and sympathy. In reference to later examples of burning the body, Schafer claims that "there is an explicit tendency to regard the burning not so much as a magical rite but as self-sacrifice for the appeasement of the spiritual world . . . It is in this direction that human sacrifice has developed all over the world, from a drama compelling Nature into a personal act of atonement" (Schafer 1951: 141).

Schafer's analysis aside, there is ample evidence that the potency of rain-making rituals in the Chou and Han periods was understood in terms of sympathetic resonance and kan-lei. The early rituals featured objects related to water and dragons which thus belong to the category of yin. In Tung Chung-shu's description we find "the use of a platform on which trees were planted, the so-called 'toad pond,' clay dragons, animal sacrifices, prayers, and dancing" (Munakata 1983: 110). The colors of the robes, the size of the implements, and the number of ritual components were all coordinated with the time of year, in accord-

ance with five-phase theory. The principle of kan-lei is seen operating throughout, and served to maximize the potency of the ritual, in order to elicit a response from heaven. Needham comments that the early wu shamans, who danced naked in a ring of fire under the hot sun, would have sweated profusely, rendering such rituals a form of sympathetic magic: "Drops of sweat, it was hoped, would induce drops of rain" (Needham 1956: 135).

The sketchy but suggestive accounts of early rain-making technique appear somewhat ambiguous concerning the precise workings of kan-lei. Sympathetic response among categorically related elements can be interpreted in either anthropomorphic or naturalistic/mechanistic terms. Schafer tends towards the anthropomorphic: The suffering of the exposed priest or sacrificial victim impresses upon heaven the pain of heat and drought. Heaven is moved (or coerced) to respond compassionately and cause rain to fall. Needham takes a more naturalistic view, and understands rain-making as an exercise in the manipulation of cosmic forces along the lines of five-phase theory and alchemy. And Schwartz notes that Chinese "organismic thinking" readily lends itself to either interpretation:

> All "organismic" thinking in China remains quite capable of incorporating [the manifold numinous spirits and deities present in nature]. Built into the system, in fact, is the notion that the indwelling spirits of mountains and rivers and the ancestral spirits must continue to be the recipients of the ritual honors which are their due. Indeed, it they do not receive proper ritual attention, this may again disorder the harmony of the entire system. The performance of the proper sacrifice to a mountain spirit may be simultaneously regarded as "an act of religious piety" toward the spirit or as a "magical" act designed to maintain the geomantic harmony of the spatial world. (Schwartz 1985: 372)

The seeming ambiguity is in part a reflection of the fragmentary nature of our sources, which represent a variety of local cultures over a vast spread of history. But, more significantly, the ambiguity arises in part from the application of a foreign and somewhat inappropriate distinction to the data -- specifically, the distinction between

"anthropomorphic" and "naturalistic." We will explore this issue in more detail below when we come to our analysis of Chinese Buddhist ritual.

E. Rite and Ritual

Behind the rituals for making rain is the notion that drought, like floods and other natural calamities, is a consequence of failings on the part of the emperor. Thus the Hung-fan chapter of the Shu-ching warns that excessive rain is a consequence of an emperor's wildness, excessive drought a consequence of his arrogance, heat indicates indolence, cold indicates hasty judgment, and winds indicate stupidity (5.4.34; Legge 1961: 3.340-341). The view that anomalies in the heavens, disturbances on earth, earthquakes, avalanches, sightings of unusual birds or animals, and other such "wonders" (kuai 怪), were a reflection of the behavior of the king has been termed "phenomenalism" by Western sinologists. The mechanism behind phenomenalism is explicitly articulated by Tung Chung-shu, who writes of the "mutual reflection of Heaven and Man" (t'ien-jen hsiang-kan 天人相感). In chapter 11 of the Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu Tung explains the etymology of the character wang 王 ("king") as follows:

> The ancients who devised our script fashioned three lines with another through their middle, calling it wang. The three lines are Heaven, Earth, and man. The line passing through their middle signifies the passage through them of the Way. If it is a matter of taking what is common to Heaven, Earth, and man and linking them by making that a reality, then who but a King is equal to such a task? (trans. by Hurvitz in Tsukamoto 1985: 2.470)

The function of the king or emperor was to maintain the state of harmony between man and nature, by virtue of correct moral conduct and ritual behavior, achieved through emulating the conduct of the ancients. The sages of old understood the structure of the cosmos, the patterns of change, and the forces guiding the cycles of heaven and earth. To conduct one's life in harmony with the underlying principles of the Tao is

to know li 禮, or "holy rite" (Fingarette's translation). We read in the "Discussion of the Rites" (Li-lun 禮論) chapter of the Hsün-tzu:

> Through rites Heaven and earth join in harmony, the sun and moon shine, the four seasons proceed in order, the stars and constellations march, the rivers flow, and all things flourish; men's likes and dislikes are regulated and their joys and hates made appropriate. Those below are obedient, those above are enlightened; all things change but do not become disordered; only he who turns his back upon rites will be destroyed. Are they not wonderful indeed? (71/18/26-28; trans. Watson 1967: 94)

As both Fingarette and Schwartz have pointed out, classical Confucian notions of li have little to do with Western conceptions of morality which entail a congruence between inner intention and outward activity.[21] Li is behavior which "resonates" with the flow of cosmic forces (yin and yang, ch'i, the five phases, and so on). Needham comments:

> One would not appreciate the full force of the word li if one failed to recognize that the customs, usages and ceremonials which it summed up were not simply those which had empirically been found to agree with the instinctive feelings of rightness experienced by the Chinese people "everywhere under Heaven;" they were those which, it was believed, accorded with the "will" of Heaven, indeed with the structure of the universe. Hence the basic disquiet aroused in the Chinese mind by crimes or any disputes was because they were felt to be disturbances in the Order of Nature. (Needham 1951: 14)

Thus the king's ritual behavior signifies more than the mere confidence on the part of the educated elite that the masses will emulate the example of their superiors. According to the formulations of the Chou classics, the king occupies a pivotal position in the hierarchical structure of the cosmos, mediating between heaven and earth. His ritual life, consisting of a complex cycle of sacrifices and offerings, mirrored the passage of the constellations and planets through the heavens. "In the proper pavilion of the Ming T'ang 明堂 or Bright House, no less his dwelling-place than the temple of the universe, the emperor, clad in the robes of color appropriate to the season, faced the proper direction, caused the musical notes appropriate to the time to be sounded,

and carried out all the other ritual acts which signified the unity of heaven and earth in the cosmic pattern" (Needham 1956: 287). The emperor had to regulate not only his robes, but also his carriages, his horses, his food, and the dishes upon which his food was served, according to season. Only the king possessed the ritual potency and power necessary to regulate and oversee changes in the seasons, the weather and agricultural cycles.

The center of Chou ritual activity, according to the "Monthly Ordinances" (Yüeh-ling) chapter of the Li-chi, was the aforementioned ming-t'ang or "Hall of Enlightenment."[22] Knowledge of the architecture of the Chou ming-t'ang was already lost by the Han, and Confucian scholars, at the behest of emperors wishing to rebuild the hall, argued over its appearance and dimensions down to the time of the Ming. It is clear, however, that the hall was intended to function as a sort of "mandala" -- a schematic representation of the structure of the cosmos itself. Granet observes that, according to the "Monthly Ordinances," the ming-t'ang plays "an essential role in the promulgation of the calendar, which establishes at the same time the Space Order and the Time Order."[23] The king circulated through the ming-t'ang, moving from room to room according to the season, and through his ritual activities participated in the cycles of heaven. A Ming text, the Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu 明堂大道錄 ("Record of the Great Way of the Hall of Enlightenment"), commenting upon the "Monthly Ordinances," eloquently articulates this idealized image of the emperor:

> When the Ruler of Men came forth to direct and arrange the world, his throne was called Heaven's throne, the people were called Heaven's people. The important point in ordering their movements was that these should correspond with the signs of heaven, and accord with the heavenly seasons. Now, on examining this book, the Yüeh-ling, one finds that each month's beginning always fixes the ordered stages of such movement, the setting and rising of the sun and stars; and the central star is sought, so that the direction of the ruler's throne may be placed correctly. . . . Now the word ti 帝 is another term for shen 神, and indicates creative power in the king, and manifests the potency of his lordship. . . . Therefore the ruler of men should change the rooms of his abode, and of

> his position, in accord with the seasons; his carriage and horse-trappings must be of the correct color according to the seasons; even the minutia of his clothing, and the utmost detail of his food and utensils must be appropriate. Not one of these must fail to be in accordance with the position of the heavenly luminaries. These are the primary observances and duties of the ruler of men.[24]

The degree to which the prescriptions of the Yüeh-ling were actually followed by Chinese monarchs need not concern us here. In fact, the idealized Chou model was emulated only sporadically, and then in a cursory and symbolic manner through the successive reigns of medieval monarchs. Nonetheless, the conception of the king as embodying in his very person the patterns of heaven and earth continued to play an important part in the enduring model of sagehood and the legitimation of power.

F. The Sage

"He who did nothing yet ruled well, was he not indeed Shun? For what did he do? Nothing but reverently conduct himself, with his face direct to the south" (Analects 15/5). This image of the sage-king Shun, sitting reverently on his throne facing south, "doing nothing but leaving nothing undone," is the quintessential image of political and spiritual authority in China. Shun's perfection of the potency of non-action (wu-wei) is one and the same as his perfection of the holy rites (li). The rites are not merely the expression, manifestation, or embodiment of virtue. Rather, they are constitutive of it, since virtue is nothing more and nothing less than being "in tune" with the universe. Tung Chung-shu could not be more explicit: "The sage, in his conduct of government, duplicates the movements of Heaven."[25] Through the choreography of the rites, the sage-king participates in the cosmic dance and thereby brings into harmony all under heaven. The sage need only perfect his ritual comportment to bring the whole into balance. "As for

Great Men, in rectifying themselves they rectify [all] things" (Mencius 7/A/19).

The ideals incorporated into this early model of the sage-king include the following: (1) the perfect and profound embodiment of the Tao allowing the sage to "go with the flow" of change, rather than fight against it; (2) ultimate authority, derived through the special relationship the sage enjoys with Heaven and the ancestors; (3) ultimate legitimacy, derived through his selection by heaven as worthy of the mandate, and ratified through the tacit consent of the people. The kind of division between priestly and political authority enshrined in the developed Indian caste system is not evidenced in China. Sacral and political authority are conjoined in the sage-king ideal.

The principle behind the potency of non-action is precisely sympathetic resonance. This is made explicit in the Huai-nan-tzu, particularly chapters 9 and 19, wherein wu-wei is explained as the source of the creative and transformative power of the sage-king. Non-action is the means by which the sage-king attains perfect accord or "total resonance" between himself and the masses (Le Blanc 1978: 58). The perfection of "holy rite" or li, and spontaneous non-action, are two sides of the same coin. According to Le Blanc: "li [in the Huai-nan-tzu] stands not for a formal code of etiquette or behavior that has intrinsic moral value and to which one must conform out of a sense of obligation, but rather it stands for a form which emerges as the spontaneous mutual response of people who participate in the same project" (Le Blanc 1978: 150-151).

This idealized model of the sage-king is as Taoist as it is Confucian, although Taoist sources tend to emphasize the other-worldly stillness of non-action rather than the this-worldly transformative power of li. In the T'ien-tao 天道 chapter of the Chuang-tzu we read:

> The sage is still not because he takes stillness to be good and therefore is still. The ten thousand things are insufficient to

> distract his mind -- that is the reason he is still. Water that is still gives back a clear image of beard and eyebrows; reposing in the water level, it offers a measure to the great carpenter. And if water in stillness possesses such clarity, how much more must pure spirit. The sage's mind in stillness is the mirror of Heaven and earth, the glass of the ten thousand things. . . . Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction are the root of the ten thousand things. To understand them and face south is to become a ruler such as Yao was; to understand them and face north is to become a minister such as Shun was. (33/13/2-8; trans. Watson 1968: 142-143)

Yet even the great commentator to the Chuang-tzu, Kuo-hsiang 郭象, felt that Chuang-tzu's vision of resonance was too narrow and self-centered. In the Chuang-tzu chu 莊子注 Kuo-hsiang asserts that Confucius is actually superior to Chuang-tzu, because Chuang-tzu's mind responds only to his own needs. "He whose mind is [really] in a state of inaction then responds to any stimulus, and the response varies according to the season. There he is cautious about speaking. The result is that he embodies the process of transformation, glides in conformity with all ages, and is not different from all things."[26] The true sage is the one who, transcending his own needs, responds or resonates (ying 應) with all things.

This conception of the sage-king as free from discursive reasoning, merely responding (ying 應) to stimuli (kan 感), is in striking contrast to Plato's philosopher king, or the wise kings, such as Solomon, celebrated in the Old Testament. Again, quoting Kuo-hsiang: "Being without conscious thought [the sage] mysteriously responds, and follows only the stimuli (which reach him). Floating he is like an unmoored boat which goes East or West without any personal [effort]."[27] Such a sage, in responding spontaneously to contingency, is not bound to conventional standards of morality. According to Mencius, "The great man does not think beforehand of his words that they be sincere, nor of his actions that they may be resolute -- he simply speaks and does what is right" (Mencius 4/B/11; trans. Legge 1961: 2.321-322). Hsün-tzu is more graphic in his descriptions of the freedom of the sage, achieved through li: "He moves along with time; he bows or arches as the times

change. [Fast or slow, curled or stretched,] a thousand moves, ten thousand changes: his Way is one" (Hsün-tzu 8/86-87; trans. Eno 1984: 487). And again:

> The Sage gives free reign to his desires, embraces his spontaneous dispositions, and all he controls is perfectly ruled. What need to force, to restrain -- what danger could there be? Thus the jen person walks along the Way without purposive effort 無為; the Sage walks along the Way without striving. (Hsün-tzu 21/66-67; trans. Eno 1984: 487)

In the Hsün-tzu the spontaneous quality of the sage is referred to by the expression "responding to change" (ying pien 應變). The ability to respond naturally to things allows the sage to "transform" (hua 化) others. And the link between ritual self-cultivation on the one hand, and the power to transform others and effect cosmic harmony on the other, is precisely the principle of resonance. In the Mencius we read: "Wherever the superior man passes through, transformation follows; wherever he abides, his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad, above and beneath, like that of Heaven and Earth. How can it be said that he mends society but in a small way?"[28]

The question arose as to whether or not the sage's response to things of the world included an emotional response to other persons.[29] The theory that sages are without feelings or emotions (sheng-jen wu-ch'ing 聖人無情) became dominant in Han metaphysical speculation. Officials such as Liu Hsiang 劉向 (B.C. 80-9) portrayed the sage as a perfect image of heaven -- wholly impartial and immune to the vicissitudes of the common man. Thus the sage Confucius was understood in terms of "divine impassivity" in contrast to his disciple Yen Hui 顏回, a virtuous one (hsien 賢), who did on occasion shed tears (Lai 1983: 303).

The issue of the sage's inner emotional life, or lack of one, was a recurring topic of debate in literati and especially ch'ing-t'an circles.

> Seng-i said to Wang, "Does the sage have emotions, or not?" Wang replied: "He does not." Seng-i asked again: "Is the sage like a pillar, then?" Wang said: "He's like counting rods (ch'ou-suan 籌算). Even though they themselves have no emotions, the one manipulating them does."[30]

The hsüan-hsüeh prodigy Wang Pi disagreed, insisting that although the spiritual enlightenment (shen-ming 神明) of the sage renders him superior to others, his possession of the five emotions makes him one with others. "Because his emotions are equal with other men, he cannot be without grief and joy in responding to other beings. Thus the sage's emotions enable him to respond to other beings, without becoming attached to other beings."[31] The sage may grieve over the death of a loved one, but he is never "burdened down (lei 累) by his natural show of sentiments" (Lai 1983: 303). Yet even with Wang Pi, the emotions of the sage are spontaneous manifestations of his nature -- a nature which is non-active and one with the Tao.

G. "Popular" Usage of Kan-ying

The pervasive influence of the kan-ying idea can be seen in later usage in Sung and post-Sung "popular" Taoist works. Texts subsumed under the category of "moral tracts" (shan-shu 善書) use the term kan-ying to refer to the principle of tit-for-tat moral retribution -- the belief that an individual's good and evil deeds will yield a corresponding quantity of good and bad consequences, often manifest as the shortening or lengthening of a man's life. The classic of this genre is a Sung compilation known as the T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien 太上感應篇.[32] This scripture, which underwent considerable expansion in later centuries, was the subject of numerous commentaries, and was one of the most widely circulated Taoist works in the pre-modern period (Legge 1962: 1.39). The notion of "retribution" (pao 報) which lies at the heart of this text can be traced back to the Han theories of resonance and response examined above, by way of post-Han Taoist works such as the Pao-p'u-tzu, with a dash of Buddhist karma theory thrown in for good measure.[33] In

the end, the Kan-ying p'ien places responsibility for moral recompense in the hands of divine arbitrators rather than in the workings of an impersonal, naturally resonant cosmos:

> The Divine Lords of the three pairs of stars in the Northern Dipper 三台北斗神君, residing above the heads of men, record men's crimes and evils and accordingly cut short their lives by [units of] 12 years or 100 days. There are also the three corporeal spirits 三尸神 who reside in men's bodies and ascend to the heavenly officials 天曹 every keng 庚 and shen 申 day to report the crimes and transgressions of men.[34]

The Sung interpretation of kan-ying as divine retribution was by no means a new development. As mentioned above, the Chinese tended to vacillate between naturalist and anthropomorphic views of the universe -- where some saw "spontaneous resonance," others saw "divine retribution." The belief that natural phenomena could be read as portents -- one of the most important "practical" applications of the doctrine of celestial and terrestrial resonances as exemplified in the naturalist writings of Tung Chung-shu -- was conducive to a teleological view of heaven as acting by design.[35] Indeed, in texts such as the Huai-nan-tzu cited above, it is often difficult to determine whether or not t'ien is to be understood as an active agent or impersonal abstract principle. The teleological excesses and exaggerated anthropocentrism associated with "phenomenalism" engendered the skeptical and iconoclastic responses on the part of generations of literati-scholars, from Wang Ch'ung 王充 (27-100 A.D.?) in the Han, to Ou-Yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) in the Sung.[36] Yet such "rationalists" or "skeptics" rarely rejected the principle of kan-ying per se. The focus of their critique was the overly anthropomorphized interpretation of kan-ying which lead to the "superstitious" belief in portents, spirits, and the efficacy of rites. I am not aware of a single instance where the more "naturalistic" understanding of kan-ying was subject to learned critique.

H. Twofold Mystery Taoism and Kan-ying Exegesis

Before proceeding to the Buddhist usage of the notion of kan-ying, mention should be made of the exegesis associated with the ch'ung-hsüan tradition examined in chapter 1 above, which bears directly on the ideological context of the PTL. Ch'ung-hsüan sources contain detailed expositions of the kan-ying phenomenon which, in the spirit of the Huai-nan-tzu, avoids both a crude anthropomorphism and a sterile naturalism. Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, whom we have seen to be one of the most important writers associated with the ch'ung-hsüan tradition, devotes a section of his commentary on the Lao-tzu to a highly scholastic exposition of kan-ying. Ch'eng differentiates two kinds of responses: "universal response" (t'ung-ying 通應) and "differential response" (pieh-ying 別應). The former is that of heaven, which, from within the celestial residence (hsüan-tu 玄都) responds out of compassion to all without distinction. Differential response on the other hand is a mode of response geared to specific stimuli (pieh-kan 別感). Into this second category falls the transmission of the Tao-te ching to Yin Hsi, or the conversion of the barbarians by Lao-tzu.[37]

An even more refined set of kan-ying categories is elaborated in section 35 of the Tao-chiao i-shu, entitled "The Meaning of Stimulus Response" (kan-ying i 感應義).[38] Like the Buddhist texts we will examine below, this text associates kan with a stimulus initiated by man, while ying is the spontaneous response of a sage or deity, although cases of stimulus-response between inanimate objects are also mentioned. The text enumerates six categories of stimulus and six of response, the former of which are grouped into three pairs. The first pair, "principal" (ch'eng 正) and "proximate" (or "ancillary," fu 附), is a distinction which rests upon whether or not the stimulus is initiated directly by a self-aware mind or indirectly by an insentient object. The second pair, "universal" (p'u 普) and "preferential" (p'ien 偏), distinguishes between the universal stimulus which occurs at the beginning of a kalpa, and the specific stimuli initiated by individuals as

the need arises. The final pair rests upon a distinction as to whether the stimuli is "manifest" (hsien 顯) or "hidden" (yin 隱). Responses are similarly sorted into six groups, namely: (1) the response of pneuma (ch'i 氣), specifically the primal pneuma (yüan-ch'i 元氣) which initiates all forms of sentient and non-sentient existence; (2) a response in "form" (hsing 形) which occurs without the need for words or language; (3) the response in language or patterns (wen 文), which includes teachings embodied in language; (4) the response of sages (sheng 聖) i.e., the birth of a sage in the world of saṃsâra; (5) the response of the worthies (hsien 賢) who preserve the way of the sages after the latter have passed from the world; (6) "transmitted" response (hsi 襲) which refers to the preservation of the way of the sages and worthies by the common man.[39] The discussion of kan-ying concludes with a final fourfold distinction derived according to whether the agent and recipient of the stimulus are sentient or insentient. As an example of the third category -- an insentient object stimulating a response in an insentient object -- the text cites the case of the bell sounding at the collapse of the Copper Mountain mentioned above.

* * *

A comprehensive analysis of kan-ying would take us far beyond the issue at hand. The discussion above was primarily intended to demonstrate the pervasive influence of the principle of sympathetic response throughout early Chinese history and the variety of areas to which the principle could be applied. Indeed, from the time of the Han, dynastic histories typically included a chapter entitled "Five Phases" which recorded occurrences of "unusual phenomena" or "wonders" (kuai) including earthquakes, avalanches, feather-rain, and the birth of two-headed chickens. The principle of kan-ying was invoked to explain moral retribution, ritual efficacy, natural and astronomical cycles, political upheaval, and so on. It should not, therefore, be surprising to discover that kan-ying also influenced the Chinese understanding of Buddhist cosmology and practice.

I. Kan-ying and the Chinese Transformation of Buddhism

The manner in which Buddhism took root in China has been the subject of a number of Western language studies. Discussions typically revolve around the lives of early translators and the nature of their translations. The spurious practice of ko-i 格義, or "matching concepts," is often cited as symptomatic of the shortcomings of early Six-dynasty Chinese renderings of Buddhist texts.[40] Despite the cautionary note sounded by Zürcher years ago (1972: 184), ko-i continues to be misunderstood as referring to the use of native Chinese terminology, culled primarily from Taoist classics, to express Buddhist ideas and doctrines.[41] The practice of elucidating Indian Buddhist concepts by drawing parallels with native systems of thought was ubiquitous throughout the history of Buddhism in China. Indeed, how is Buddhism to be understood without some reliance upon familiar terminology? Zürcher suggests instead that ko-i referred to a specific mode of exegesis which probably involved pairing Buddhist numerical categories, such as those found in the older dhyâna and abhidharma texts, with superficially similar Chinese numerical lists (1972: 184). We know that early writers paired the five phases with the Buddhist mahâbhûtas (translated as hsing 行), and the five constant virtues (wu-ch'ang 五常) were paired with the five lay precepts (Wright 1959: 37). In any case, the few textual references to the practice of ko-i -- a practice abandoned in Tao-an's lifetime -- are insufficient to fully reconstruct the meaning of the term.

As commonly understood, proponents of ko-i (most notably Tao-an and his disciple Hui-yüan), having come to an understanding of Indian Buddhism, intentionally utilized a vernacular terminology to "sell the product." I would not want to minimize the importance of the intentional packaging of Buddhism by Chinese enthusiasts so as to make it more palatable to literati tastes, but such phenomena will not concern us here. Our interests lie in the very antithesis of self-conscious apologetics, namely, in the conceptual transformation which occurs

precisely and necessarily in the act of transposing Indian Buddhism into the semiotic and cultural universe of the Chinese. This kind of transformation is notoriously subtle and elusive, involving as it does the conceit that we are in a better position than the Chinese to deduce the manner in which they unwittingly "misconstrued" Indian Buddhism. Furthermore, discussions of the Chinese transformation of Indian Buddhism have drawn some scholars into the dubious enterprise of describing "Chinese ways of thinking," "the Chinese mind," or "Chinese logic." Nevertheless, as I have argued above, developed Chinese Buddhism tends to retain its unmistakably Chinese "character." Below we will examine the manner in which the concept of sympathetic resonance conditioned the Chinese understanding of Buddhist doctrine and ritual. In the process, I hope to contribute to the ongoing discussion concerning the sinification of Buddhism in China.

There are numerous superficial structural or functional parallels between early Indian Buddhist and Chinese cosmological systems. The Buddhism of the early canon conceives of the universe as being governed by impersonal laws (dharma or fa 法), an idea whose roots lie in the ṛta ("cosmic order") of early Vedic cosmology. Buddhist scriptures typically present the Buddha himself as being a product of just such impersonal forces. The time and manner of his appearance on earth is predetermined in accordance with the ebb and flow of vast cosmic cycles (kalpas and mahâkalpas). The period in which a particular Buddha's teachings remain available within a world system (buddha-śâsanâ) is similarly predetermined according to the nature of the particular kalpa in which he is born. This strand in early Buddhist thought would seem to de-emphasize the intentional aspects of Śâkyamuni, and make of him a product of impersonal forces, and is embodied in the doctrine that the true referent of the term "Buddha" is not the body of flesh and blood of the historical Buddha, but the dharma, or law, which he embodies: "Those who see the dharma will see me [Śâkyamuni]; those who see me will see the dharma."[42]

The "impersonalist" or "trans-personalist" understanding of the Buddha is brought to the fore in Mahâyâna Buddhology, a Buddhology which is sometimes misleadingly deemed docetic. According to upâya doctrine and trikâya theory, the "true embodiment" (chen-shen 眞身) of the Buddha is the dharmakâya itself. The perceived human-like Buddha who walks the earth is merely an emanation of the impersonal dharmakâya, naturally responding to the needs of the age, the whole process being governed by cosmic law. The first chüan of the Samâdhirâja-sûtra proclaims that there are one-thousand-billion Buddhas, all with the same name, with sons and disciples of the same name, all born in Kapilavastu, and so on.[43]

As Needham warns, we should be careful not to draw hasty parallels between the Chinese cosmology of organic holism, and the idea common in both India and the West of universal "laws of nature." Nevertheless, it was precisely superficial similarities such as these which encouraged conceptual mapping and facilitated the eventual acceptance of Buddhism in China.

J. The Resonant-Body of the Buddha

Scholastic interpretations of the Buddha in China are often couched in the technical language of buddhakâya or "Buddha-body" doctrine -- competing conceptions of the Buddha can be made congruent through the notion of co-existing multiple "bodies."[44] Like the Indians, the Chinese never settled upon a single definitive version of the kâya theory, and one finds various lists of two, three, four, five and even ten "bodies of the Buddha" depending upon the source consulted. The complexity of the situation in China is further exacerbated by the varying Chinese terms used to translate the Sanskrit technical jargon. Of primary interest to us will be the Chinese term ying-shen 應身, or "resonant-body," which appears in a variety of Chinese translations, apocrypha, and commentaries.

In brief, the multiple buddhakâya doctrine claims that the true body of the Buddha is the dharma-body (dharmakâya), which transcends space and time and is thus "unmanifest" (though some texts present the universe in its totality as the manifestation of the dharmakâya). The nirmâṇakâya or "transformation-body" is the body visible in this world to all living beings. The transformation-body is manifest in response to the needs of suffering beings, an idea connected to the doctrine of upâya. The "strong" version of this thesis claims that the Buddha does not will his physical form into being; rather the Buddha, as dharmakâya, spontaneously responds to the needs of sentient beings, manifesting a physical body best suited to propagate the dharma in the conditions at hand. The physical body of the Buddha is no more than an "expedient" device -- a conjured form for those of limited capacity. The Vimalakîrti-sûtra says: "The realm of the Blessed Lord Buddhas and their skill in means are inconceivable. In order to ripen beings they manifest such and such a splendor of a field so as to respond to such and such a desire of beings" (Lamotte 1976: 229).

Mahâyâna sûtras are replete with references to bodhisattvas assuming different forms in response to the needs of those who call upon them. The two most important examples in China are the multiple emanations of Avalokiteśvara as described in chapter 25 of Kumârajîva's translation of the Lotus,[45] and the "reduplication-bodies" (fen-shen 分身) of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha as depicted in chapter 2 of the Ti-tsang p'u-sa pen-yüan ching 地藏菩薩本願經.[46] These sûtras rank among the most widely disseminated Buddhist scriptures in China, and the doctrine of multiple and variegated emanations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas is central to Chinese Buddhist ritual and ceremony, both monastic and lay. In addition, the concept of multiple emanations of a single deity underlies the exuberant production of the countless Buddhist stûpas and icons which dominate the Chinese Buddhist landscape.

The Lotus Sûtra formula describing the multiple bodies of Avalokiteśvara runs as follows:

> Should there be beings in the realm who would attain liberation in response to the body of a Buddha 應以佛身得度者, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara will then manifest the body of a Buddha in order to preach the dharma. For those who would attain liberation in response to the body of a pratyekabuddha, he then manifests the body of a pratyekabuddha in order to preach the dharma. . .[47]

The passage goes on to enumerate thirty-three different bodies manifested by Avalokiteśvara for the sake of living beings. The doctrine that multiple emanation-bodies are produced by bodhisattvas in response to the particular needs of suffering sentient beings finds similar expression in the <u>Ti-tsang p'u-sa pen-yüan ching</u>:

> All varieties and classes of living beings, are liberated through the manifold and distinct reduplication-bodies 分身 [of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva]. These bodies may manifest as men, women, gods, dragons, spirits, or ghosts. They may manifest as mountains, forests, streams, springs, and rivers, or as lakes, fountains, or wells, [in each case] bringing benefit and liberation to people. They may manifest as the bodies of divine emperors, Brahma kings, wheel-turning kings, laymen, kings of countries, prime ministers, officials, bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇîs, <u>upâsakas</u>, <u>upâsikâs</u>, <u>śrâvakas</u>, arhats, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, and so on, all in order to transform and save [living beings]. It is not only the body of a Buddha which will appear before [one in need]. (T.412: 13.779b18-26; cf. Heng Ching 1974: 92)

This doctrine of multiple manifestations of a Buddha or bodhisattva underlies the ritual worship of icons and stûpas and the invocation of deities -- the very heart of Buddhist practice both monastic and lay. The attempt on the part of scholastic exegetes to unravel the ontology and epistemology of these various manifestations of the divine gave rise to increasingly complex <u>buddhakâya</u> schemes. The Chinese were at a particular disadvantage, first because of the lack of congruence among the various Indian sastras and sûtras to which they had access on the number and characteristics of each of the Buddha-bodies, and second, because of the variety of translations used to render a single Sanskrit term. A quick glance at three different Chinese translations of a passage from the <u>Laṅkâvatâra</u> should highlight the complexity of which I speak. The

passage in question has been translated by Suzuki from the Sanskrit as follows.

> Mahâmati, the Nishyanda-Buddha, instantaneously maturing the mentality of beings, places them in the palatial abode of the Akanishtha mansion where they will become practisers of various spiritual exercises. Mahâmati, it is like the Dharmatâ-Buddha shining forth instantaneously with the rays that issue from the Nishyanda-Nirmâṇa [-Buddha]; in the same way, Mahâmati, the noble truth of self-realisation instantaneously shines out when false views of existence and non-existence are discarded. And yet again, Mahâmati, what the Dharmatâ-Nishyanda-Buddha [that is, the Buddha that flows out of the absolute Dharma] teaches is that all things are comprehensible under the aspects of individuality and generality . . . Again Mahâmati, it is the doing of the Dharmatâ-Buddha to establish the exalted state of self-realization which transcends the phenomena of the [empirical] mind. Again, Mahâmati, what the Nirmita-Nirmâṇa-Buddha [or Buddha of transformation] establishes concerns such matters as charity, morality, meditation . . . (trans. Suzuki 1978: 50-52)

First it should be noted that the Laṅkâvatâra makes no apparent attempt at a consistent theory of multiple bodies. Some of variant Chinese translations of key terms are illustrated in the following chart, drawing from T.670 (the translation by Guṇabhadra), T.671 (Bodhiruci) and T.672 (Śikṣânanda):

	T.670	T.671	T.672
dharmatâbuddha	法佛	法佛	法性佛
dharmabuddha	法佛	法佛	法佛
maulatathâgata	眞如來	根本如來	根本佛
dharmatânisyandabuddha	法化佛	法佛報佛	法性所流佛
nisyandabuddha	依佛/化佛	報佛/報相佛	報佛
vipâkajabuddha	報生佛	報佛	報佛
vipâkasthâbuddha	報佛	報佛	報佛
nirmâṇabuddha	依佛	化佛	變化佛/化佛
nairmâṇikabuddha	化佛	化佛	變化佛/化佛
nirmitanirmâṇabuddha	化佛	應化佛	變化如來/化佛[48]

There is no evidence that the Laṅkâ was intending to develop a systematic kâya theory -- the text enumerates various categories of Buddhas with little concern for the interrelationships which hold among

them. Although the term dharmakâya does appear in the Lankâ, no explicit mention is made of the dharmakâya as the source from which other bodies arise. Nonetheless, we may suppose that a Chinese monk already familiar with kâya theories from other sources would find the Lankâ terminology perplexing, particularly the use of the terms pao 報, pien 變, hua 化, and ying 應 which alternate from one translation to the next. Suzuki puzzles over the use of pao for nisyanda and vipâka in these texts, and suggests several ways in which the translation could have been derived given the etymology and scholastic connotations of the Sanskrit terminology (1930: 322-325). I suspect, however, that the use of pao indicates a concerted effort on the part of the translators of T.671 and T.672 to harmonize the confused Buddhology of the Lankâ with the tripartite nirmânakâya, sambhogakâya, dharmakâya of the more systematic treatises already familiar to the Chinese.

The Wei translation of the She ta-ch'eng lun 攝大乘論 (Mahâyâna-samgraha) presents a trikâya system consisting of a chen-shen 眞身, ying-shen 應身, and pao-shen 報身, all three of which are said to be aspects of the single fo-shen 佛身.[49] The same terminology is also found in the Ta-ch'eng t'ung-hsing ching 大乘同性經 (Mahâyânâbhisamaya-sûtra?).[50] The term ying-shen in both these instances is functionally equivalent to the Sanskrit nirmânakâya, in so far as the ying-shen, like the nirmâna, can be perceived by deluded beings in all realms, as opposed to the pao-shen which is visible only to relatively advanced beings or those residing within a Pure Land.

Our understanding of ying-shen is complicated, however, by the fact that it corresponds with sambhogakâya in another influential Chinese trikâya tradition, represented by such texts as the Suvarna-prabhâsottama-sûtra (Ho-pu chin-kuang-ming ching 合部金光明經).[51] This text distinguishes between (1) the "transformation-body" (hua-shen 化身) which can be seen by all beings in whatever form is best suited to their needs; (2) the "response-body" (ying-shen 應身) which is manifest only to bodhisattvas, to whom it preaches the ultimate teachings; and (3) the

dharma-body (fa-shen 法身) which being beyond time and space is unmanifest. According to the Suvarṇaprabhâsottama, the transformation-body is multiple, the transformation-body, which possesses the thirty-two major and eighty minor marks is unitary, and the dharma-body transcends any distinctions between unitary and plural. The dharma-body is ultimately real, while the other two are contingent. Again, the dharma-body is compared to the sun, and the other two to a mirror which reflects the rays of the sun.[52] The key Suvarṇaprabhâsottama passage pertaining to the transformation and response-bodies reads as follows:

> How should a bodhisattva understand the transformation-body? Good youth! In the past, when the Tathâgata was still at the stage of disciplined practice, he cultivated many kinds of dharmas for the sake of living beings. Having completed the practice of all these dharmas he attained complete mastery 自在 due to the power of his cultivation. Due to the power of his complete mastery he is able to accord 隨 with the hearts, practices and worlds of living beings. He understands them all, and never misses the right opportunity 不待時不過時 -- the place and time [at which he manifests], as well as his conduct and his preaching of the dharma all accord with the needs [of living beings] 處所相應時相應行相應說法相應. He manifests various bodies and these are called "transformation-bodies."

> [How should a bodhisattva understand the response-body?][53] Good youth! All these Buddha-Tathâgatas preach the ultimate truth for the sake of bodhisattvas in order that they may thoroughly penetrate [the teachings], in order that [living beings] may understand that samsâra and nirvâna are of a single flavor and that the joys and fears of sentient beings [arise due to] attachment to self,[54] and in order that they may provide a foundation for boundless Buddha-dharmas. The Tathâgata co-resonates with suchness and the wisdom of suchness due to the power of his [original] vows.[55] This body is fully endowed with the thirty-three major and eighty minor marks, and the head and upper body are encircled in radiant light. This is called the response-body.[56]

The Suvarṇaprabhâsottama goes on to make a four-part distinction between such bodies of the Buddha (T.664: 16.363c17-23), but our immediate concern is with the distinction between the hua-shen and the ying-shen, as both terms are commonly used for nirmâṇakâya in China. In the present text, only ying-shen refers to manifestations of Buddha in the form of a Buddha with the major and minor marks characteristic of a

Tathâgata. As the ying-shen would appear to be visible only to bodhisattvas well advanced on the path, one would suppose that ying-shen translates, or is functionally equivalent to the saṃbhogakâya. The hua-shen or transformation-body can take virtually any form, depending upon circumstances. This ambiguity apparently led some Chinese commentators to consider the transformation and response-bodies to result from the bifurcation of a single body, the ying-hua-shen (MZ 1.335a).

One might suppose it a relatively simple task to trace the Sanskrit term or terms behind the Chinese ying-shen. Curiously, we lack the Sanskrit original for virtually every occurrence of the Chinese term ying-shen. Even in the case of the Suvarṇaprabhâsottama, for which a Sanskrit manuscript has been found, the specific section dealing with the Buddha-bodies is found only in the Chinese. The resulting ambiguity of the "response-body" in China was actively exploited by Shan-tao, who argued that the Pure-Land of Amitâbha, while accommodating all sinners, is nonetheless an exalted Recompense Land (pao-t'u 報土, Sk. sâṃbhogika-kṣetra), and Amitâbha himself a saṃbhogakâya Buddha, despite the fact that all the faithful can gaze upon him at death.[57]

By turning to an indigenous Chinese treatise we might get a clearer picture of the distinctively Chinese understanding of this notion of multiple Buddha bodies, and the degree to which such understanding is informed by the native kan-ying thought. The Shih-lao chih 釋老志 ("Chronicle of Buddhism and Taoism") was written as a chapter of the official history of the Northern Wei dynasty (Wei-shu 魏書) in the latter part of the sixth century.[58] The author, Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572), was a court official and historian who undertook the work under the auspices of the king of the Northern Ch'i. Wei Shou was neither a monk, nor was he trained in Buddhist scholasticism, but his writings reveal a sophisticated knowledge of the essentials of Buddhist doctrine. In the Shih-lao chih Wei Shou sought to present an overview of the tenets of Buddhism (and to a lesser extent Taoism), and to chronicle the relationship between church and state under the Northern Wei.

The first section of the Shih-lao chih includes a brief sketch of Śâkyamuni's life, ending with the parinirvâṇa under the śâla trees. After a short explanation of the meaning of nieh-p'an 涅槃, Wei Shou continues:

> The Dharma-bodies of the Buddhas have two aspects. One is the true [body], the other is that of expedient response. "True body" refers to the ultimate substance, wondrously surpassing all bonds and impediments, which cannot be situated in space or time, and cannot be delimited by form or measure. When there is a stimulus it responds, but the substance is ever tranquil.
>
> "Body of expedient response" refers to the one that blends its light with that of the six paths of existence, that shares defilement with the myriad kinds [of beings], whose birth and death accord with the times, whose length or shortness is in response to things. Its form comes into being because of a stimulus, but its substance is not really existent. [Therefore] although the expedient form [of the Buddha] may take its leave, the true substance does not move. It is only because at times there is no wondrous stimulus that he is not always seen. It is clear that the Buddha's birth is not a real birth, his death not a real death. 諸佛法身[59] 有二種義 一者眞實 二者權應 眞實身 謂至極之體 妙絶拘累 不得以方處期 不可以形量限 有感斯應 體常湛然 權應身者 謂和光六道 同塵萬類 生滅隨時 修短應物 形由感生 體非實有 權形雖謝 眞體不遷 但時無妙感 故莫得常見耳 明佛生非實生 滅非實滅也.[60]

The terms "true body" (chen-shih-shen 眞實身) and "body of expedient response" (ch'üan-ying-shen 權應身) are rare in medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures, but we do find the term ch'üan-ying-hsing 權應形 in a PTL passage describing the true nature of the Buddha:

> He is the teacher of gods and men, fully omniscient, who through the manifestations of his expedient response-body 權應形 guides all who are ill to the essential tranquillity of empty non-existence. He is the sun of radiant and transcendent wisdom, universally illuminating the ten directions. . . . His wholly pervasive singular body 圓通一身 is everywhere the same and non-dual, and may be called the Truth of the Great Schemata. But since this principle is difficult to perceive, he provisionally establishes expedient devices 方便, and resorts to many exacting words and discourses. Thus he is made manifest in reliance upon existing things. (145b8-13)

Wei Shou's distinction between the true body and the body of expedient response, although "non-canonical," is nonetheless familiar.

Both the 531 translation of the She ta-ch'eng lun, and the 570 translation of the Ta-ch'eng t'ung-hsing ching mentioned above similarly divide the single "dharma body" into various "aspects." But Wei Shou is explicit in attributing to both the "true body" and the "body of expedient response" the ability to "respond to stimuli." The difference between the two is that the true body, whose substance transcends space and time, remains unmoved in its response, while the body of expedient response appears at a particular place and time in a particular form, seeming to be born and to die. The fundamental activity of both bodies (and thus of the dharma body itself) is that of response (ying), and if we do not perceive the eternal presence of the Buddha it is because of the lack of appropriate stimuli (kan).

Perhaps the most important formulation of the three-body theory in later Chinese Buddhist scholasticism was that of the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論, or the "Awakening of Faith in the Mahâyâna," the translation of which is attributed to Paramârtha in 553, although the text may well have been composed originally in Chinese.[61] The discussion of the Buddha-bodies occurs in a passage clarifying the interrelationship between the universal principle -- suchness, which permeates everywhere -- and the particular instances of suchness, including manifest Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The salvific activity of the Buddhas is expressed in terms of the essence (t'i 體) and function (yung 用) of the dharma-body (fa-shen 法身). As this is probably the most influential expression of the Chinese understanding of the "resonant-body" of a Buddha, I have translated the relevant passages in full:

> All Buddhas and bodhisattvas desire to liberate all beings. Their [liberating vow] spontaneously 自然 permeates 熏習 [all beings], never forsaking them. By means of the power of their wisdom which is equal to the essence [of suchness], they manifest activities in response [to the needs of beings] 隨應 as they see and hear them. Therefore sentient beings, by means of their samâdhi, can attain the universal perception of all the Buddhas.
>
> This permeation of the essential functioning [of the Buddha's wisdom] is also divided into two categories [in accordance with the differing capacities of beings]. What are the two? The one

is he who has yet to co-resonate 未相應 [with the essence of suchness]. This category includes common men, those of the two vehicles, those bodhisattvas who have just begun to give rise to the thought [of awakening], and so on. Being permeated [by suchness] in each moment of thought and consciousness, they rely on the strength of their faith and are thus able to engage in practice. However, they have not yet attained a non-discriminating mind which co-resonates with the essence. Nor have they yet attained the practice of free activity 自在業修行 which co-resonates with functioning.

The second [category is that which] already co-resonates. This is the dharma-body bodhisattva who has attained a non-discriminating mind and co-resonates with the self essence of all Buddhas. And having attained free activity they co-resonate with the functioning of the wisdom of all Buddhas. By merely relying on the power of the dharma they [are able to] practice spontaneously, because the permeation of suchness [naturally] extinguishes ignorance. (T.1666: 32.578c26-579a7)

* * *

Because [the Buddha-Tathâgatas] possess the wisdom of great expedient means and have utterly extinguished ignorance, they perceive the original dharma-body 本法身. Being spontaneously endowed with the myriad functions of incomprehensible activity 不思議業種種之用 they are equal with suchness and pervade everywhere. Moreover, they are without any attributes of functioning 用相 which could be grasped. Why so? Because all Buddha-Tathâgatas are none other than the body of the wisdom-attribute of the dharma-body 法身智相之身. They [possess] the absolute truth which is free of the realm of worldly truth, and have transcended 離 conventional activity. And yet, since sentient beings receive benefit through seeing and hearing [of the Buddhas], one can refer to their functions 用.

These functions are of two kinds. What are the two? The first is dependent upon object-discriminating consciousness 分別事識, and is perceived by the minds of ordinary men and the followers of the two vehicles. It is called the "response-body" 應身 [T.1667: 化身]. Since [such men] do not know that [the response-body] is projected by [their own] revolving consciousness 轉識 they perceive it as coming from without. Thus they grasp its form in a piecemeal fashion, being unable to understand it in its entirety.

※ The second is that which is dependent upon consciousness [resulting from] karmic activity 業識 and is perceived by the minds of all bodhisattvas, from those who have just initiated the thought [of awakening, on up to] those of the ultimate stage. It is called the "retribution-body" 報身 [T.1667: 受用身]. This body possesses innumerable forms, and each form has innumerable [major]

marks 相, and each major mark has innumerable minor marks 好. The place where [this body] dwells is possessed of innumerable and multifarious adornments. Accordingly, its manifestations are boundless, inexhaustible and indivisible. In accord with the needs [of beings] it can be firmly stabilized and grasped 隨其所應常能住持, and is neither destroyed nor lost sight of. All these meritorious qualities are the result of the fulfillment of the karmic influences 熏 of the pure practice of the perfections (pâramitâ) as well as the incomprehensible place of the karmic influences. Because [this body] is fully endowed with innumerable attributes of joy, it is spoken of as the "retribution-body" [T.1666 and T.1667: 報身].

Ordinary men see only the coarse form, and one's perception will differ depending upon one's position within the six transmigratory realms. There are many different kinds [of manifestations] which do not receive the attribute of joy, and therefore they are referred to as "response-bodies" 應身 [T.1667: 化身]. (T.1666: 32.579b14-c3)

* * *

Question: If the dharma-bodies of all the Buddhas are free from the attributes of form, how are they able to manifest with the attributes of form?

Answer: Since the dharma-body is the very essence 體 of form, it is able to manifest as form. This is so because, from the very beginning of time, form and mind are not two. Since the nature of form is identical with wisdom, the essence of form is devoid of shape, and therefore it is called the "wisdom-body" 智身. Since the nature of wisdom is identical with form, it is called the dharma-body which is omnipresent, and whose manifest form is indivisible. In accordance with mind it can manifest as innumerable bodhisattvas, innumerable retribution-bodies 報身 [T.1667: 受用身] and innumerable adornments of the ten quarters of the world. Each and every one of them is distinct, and yet each is indivisible [from the whole] and they not interfere with one other. This is incomprehensible to the discriminating faculty of mind and consciousness, as it is the very function and meaning of the Freedom of Suchness 眞如自在用義. (T.1666: 32.579c11-19)[62]

The Ch'i-hsin lun skillfully intertwines trikâya doctrines with the indigenous Chinese terminology of ti and yung -- essence and function. The dharma-body is suchness in its essential aspect, devoid of form and attributes, while the retribution and response-bodies are manifestations of the functions of suchness. The response-body appears in response to the needs of all varieties of beings, and can assume a

multitude of shapes and forms. The retribution-body is the form we would associate with a Buddha proper -- the iconic ideal fully endowed with the major and minor marks. This Buddha-body is perceived only by those spiritually developed beings who have acquired the necessary powers of samâdhi and invocation. It is difficult to grasp the full import of the passage above unless one appreciates the importance of ritual invocation in Chinese Buddhism. Note in particular the paragraph marked with the ※: the retribution-body is perceived abiding in a place "possessed of innumerable and multifarious adornments." The image is to be firmly fixed in the mind ("stabilized and grasped"), and the power to do so is acquired through the practice of the pâramitâ. But it would be a mistake to think that the successful visualization of the retribution-body is a product of "self-power" alone -- it is accomplished in conjunction with the power of the Buddhas. In a manner characteristic of the "pre-Cartesian" metaphysics of medieval Buddhism, there is no clear distinction between epistemology and ontology -- although the Buddha appears as the result of a process of "visualization" or "imagination," this fact does not impinge upon the reality or power of said Buddha. Retribution Buddhas may be produced through the power of invocation, but the power of invocation itself is a function of the pervasive influence (vâsanâ) of the Buddha being visualized. Buddhas, like everything else, are dependently originated.

In the translation of the above passages from the Ch'i-hsin lun I have noted the instances in which Śikṣânanda, in his "re-translation" of the text (T.1667), substitutes hua-shen for ying-shen, and inconsistently changes pao-shen to shou-yung-shen 受用身 -- translation equivalents which had become more-or-less standard since the time of Hsüan-tsang. This would have removed the ambiguity inherent in the term ying-shen noted above. But although ying-shen was eventually dropped as a technical translation equivalent for one of the trikâya, be it saṃbhogakâya or nirmâṇakâya, the more generalized notion of a "response-body" remained at the core of Buddhist thought, ritual and worship. It

continues to appear in a host of native Chinese exegetical compositions and apocryphal scriptures.

Evidence for the continued interest in the nature of the ying-shen is found, for example, in the Ta-ch'eng erh-shih-erh wen 大乘二十二問, a treatise composed in Tun-huang sometime in the 780s by the monk T'an-k'uang 曇曠.[63] The sixth question reads:

> The Buddha has three bodies. There is a dharma-body 法身 which envelopes and pervades the dharma-realm, a transformation-body 化身 which is possessed by each and every Buddha, and a response-body. Are the [many] response-bodies identical or different 應身有一有異? (T.2818: 85.b21-22)

T'an-k'uang's answer to this question reveals just how complex the theory of the Buddha-body had become in eighth-century China. He begins by enumerating five bodies of the Buddha, each of which has many aspects or "names" (ming 名). It is quickly apparent that there is considerable overlap between categories -- the name ying-shen shows up under the third, fourth, and fifth categories of Buddha-bodies. The details of this complex scheme need not concern us here, and we can turn to the T'an-k'uang's final explanation of the ying-shen:

> As to whether the response-bodies are identical or different: the response-body [being referred to here] is the third Buddha-body in the current list of five. This response-body of the Buddha appears in response to bodhisattvas of the ten stages. . . . bodhisattvas of the first stage see it as small, the second stage bodhisattvas see it as large. Thus [these bodies] appear in the same place at the same time without interfering with one another. Therefore they cannot be said to be identical, nor can they be said to differ. They cannot be said to be identical because what is seen by [each bodhisattva] will differ depending upon his stage. They cannot be said to differ because the many Buddhas which are seen occupy one and the same place. A single instant encompasses three world kalpas! All Buddhas exist in the place occupied by a single Buddha! Each realm contains all Buddhas! One is all and all is one! (T.2818: 85.1186a21-b2)

T'an-k'uang waxes increasingly metaphysical as he extols the wonders of the response-bodies of the Buddha. And again, it is clear

that the concept of the response-body served to account for the actual appearance of the Buddha to a practitioner of dhyâna and invocation.

Finally, we might note the adoption of the term ying-shen in the opening passage of the Śûraṅgamasûtra, an apocryphal Chinese scripture composed in the early T'ang:

> Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was staying near Sravâsti in the Jetavana vihâra with twelve hundred and fifty great bhiksus, all arhats free of defilement. These disciples of the Buddha firmly upheld the good and had crossed over all existence. . . Adorned with the pure vinaya they spread the law throughout the triple realm -- their innumerable response-bodies 應身 liberating living beings and saving future generations from all defilement.[64]

This passage is particularly noteworthy as it attributes the power to produce response-bodies not to a Buddha or bodhisattva, but rather to the Buddha's disciples -- the arhats. The arhats were commonly depicted in China as accomplished sages, who in many respects enjoy the powers of the more exalted celestial bodhisattvas, while yet remaining more "earthbound."[65] They function as a bridge between the world of men and the realm of nirvâna, and assume many of the characteristics of the "transcendentals" or hsien 仙. The Śûraṅgamasûtra depicts the arhats as fully perfected individuals, able to produce response-bodies in order to respond best to the needs of living beings. The term ying-shen has become fully, if idiosyncratically, naturalized.

K. The Conception of the Sage in Early Chinese Buddhism

The generalized usage of the term ying-shen loosely incorporates both: (1) the generalized Buddhist notion of a corporeal (or seemingly corporeal) body manifest in response to the needs of suffering beings, and (2) Chinese cosmological principles which explain the power to produce such bodies in terms of wu-wei and kan-ying. The sage, bodhisattva, or Buddha, through the principle of non-action, "becomes one" with the universe, acquires the attributes of stillness and harmonious

balance, and, without any premeditation or will of his own, spontaneously responds to the stimuli of the world around him, producing upâyic bodies wherever and whenever the need arises. The Chinese Buddhist sage ideal arises from the elegant conflation of early Chou and Han models of the sage-king with the Indian conception of bodhi as freedom from attachment and karmic activity.

The Buddhism of the Six Dynasties provides some of the most explicit examples of this conceptual overlay.[66] In a memorial presented to the throne in 365, the eminent Buddhist cleric Chih Tun advises the king on the proper conduct of the sage, while attempting to justify his request for permission to retire to the mountains:

> Be constantly non-active, and the myriad beings will revert to the origin; hold to the Great Image 大象, and all the world will of its own accord. As to state regulations concerning capital punishment, there are various officials in charge. If the King grants one his life without [any particular sense of] kindness, the benefit goes to the one granted pardon, and if you kill one without anger, it is the culprit who is executed [with no ensuing karmic consequences for the King]. In this way the king may extend the instruments of the State in order to satisfy the will of the gods, and to hold the scales in order perfectly to measure what is dim and obscure. This is what is meant by: "What does heaven speak? Yet the four seasons go their way!"[67]

The sage-king, by simply fulfilling his role as chief arbiter, "satisfies the will of the gods" and brings harmony to the cosmic hierarchy of heaven, earth and man. While evoking the classical Confucian and Taoist ideal of non-action, Chih Tun simultaneously rationalizes his entreaty by appealing to Buddhist karmic theory: as long as the king's actions are not attended by attachment or affective entanglement, there will be no ensuing karmic burden. In a discussion of Chih Tun's writings, Zürcher comments:

> The central topic in this mixture of mahâyâna doctrine and hsüan-hsüeh is the person of the saint or sage 聖人, the Perfect Man 至人, still represented as a ruler, but as one of superhuman proportions. . . He stands above and beyond the world of change 變 to which by means of his teachings he responds as an echo; the acts by which he interferes in the world of change are automatical

> reflexes which in no way influence his immovable and unchanging "substance" which is wisdom and appeasement. (Zürcher 1972: 125)

The sages abide in the realm of principle (li 理), which places them beyond movement, beyond desire, beyond intention. Precisely because they have emptied themselves of all intentionality, they respond to need by manifesting in the world of change. In a passage preserved in the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi 出三藏記集, Chih Tun explains:

> The principle is different [from the world of] change 變, and change is different from principle. The teachings 教 are different from the essence 體 [of wisdom, the inner mind of the sage], and the essence is different from the teachings. Therefore the thousand changes and myriad transformations all take place outside the [realm of] principle, for how could there be any movement in the spirit 神 [of the sage]? Precisely because it does not move, it can endlessly respond to change. The endless change does not denote the presence of the sage in things, nor is the change of things itself the sage.
>
> * * *
>
> The myriad sounds cause the bell to reverberate -- a reverberation which, though single, encompasses [all the myriad sounds]. A myriad things stimulate 感 the Saint, and the Saint also responds 應 out of stillness 寂. Therefore, the [myriad] sounds are not the same as the [single] reverberation, and the words [of the teachings] are not the same as the wisdom of the Saint.[68]

Elaboration on this theme can be found in a sketch of Śâkyamuni's life written as an introduction to an "Eulogy on the Buddha" by Chih Tun:

> When [the Buddha] had passed the age of "following his heart's desires" 縱心 he effaced his traces in nirvâṇa. Now the Perfect Man 至人 is active or inactive in accordance with the [exigencies of the] times; he may vanish here to emerge there [wherever his presence is needed]. [Thus the Buddha's] manifestation disappeared from the Realm of Forbearance 忍土, and darkness returned to Kapilavastu.[69]

The Taoist Perfect Man is presented by Chih Tun as identical in nature to the Buddha -- "not the Man but the Myth; in the works of early Chinese Buddhist authors . . . the Buddha is the embodiment of Truth, the completely dehumanized abstraction of Wisdom. The eternal Buddha

residing in his dharmakâya has merged here with the ideal of the hsüan-hsüeh sage who 'embodies the way' 體道" (Zürcher 1972: 130). The activity of the Buddhas, like the sages, springs solely from their natural response to the needs of beings.

This sinitic Buddhology is further developed in the Ming fo lun 明佛論, written in 433 by the painter, calligrapher, musician and disciple of Hui-yüan, Tsung Ping 宗炳 (375-443).[70]

> "Constant non-being" is the Way. Only the Buddha is able to model his spirit upon the Tao. Therefore his virtue is one with the Tao, while his spirit and the Tao remain two. Since [individuated spirit and the absolute Tao] are [distinct] there is illumination by means of penetrating transformations, and since [virtue and the Tao] are one, [the Buddha] is the eternal cause, and yet is without the [activity of] production. 夫常無者道也 唯佛則以神法道 故德與道爲一 神與道爲二 二故有照以通化 一故常因而無造. As for the myriad transformations, each follows from causes and conditions, and is spontaneously accomplished within the great Tao. That which you now call the Buddha is the inconceivable freedom of dharma 法自在.[71]

We see in Tsung Ping the tendency to push the concept "Buddha" to successively more exalted levels of abstraction. The Buddha is denied all of those features which are most characteristically "human," including desire, deliberation, intention, and so on. Although this tendency is associated with the development of Mahâyâna in general, it assumes a distinctively Chinese ethos when couched in the language of Chinese classical cosmology.

L. Seng-chao's Conception of the Sage

Seng-chao is perhaps the single most influential figure in the early development of a native Chinese "Buddhology." His writings, which are permeated with the thought and terminology of the Chuang-tzu and the Kuo Hsiang commentary, are centered around questions concerning the nature of the Buddha, the sage (sheng 聖), and the perfected man (chih-jen

至人). Indeed, all three of these terms are used more or less interchangeably. The essential nature of the Buddha is formless and is not situated in any particular location. Yet the Buddha will, in response to living beings, manifest in the world of men. Should he manifest in the midst of purity he will be perceived as pure, and should he manifest in the midst of impurity he will be perceived as impure; ultimately, his nature is free of any such duality (T.1775: 38.405a23). In his commentary to the Vimalakîrti-sûtra, Seng-chao applies his Buddhology to the exegesis of the buddhakṣetra idea:

> The Perfected Man is a vast emptiness devoid of form 象, but in response to things he assumes a particular shape 形 -- a shape without enduring substance. Indeed, is there anything permanent in the world? Now, since the various karmic propensities of the multitude of beings are dissimilar, the specific transformations are experienced differently, causing the response 報應 to differ. One who is pure will respond as if it were a treasured gem, while one who is polluted will respond as if it were so many stones. Beauty and ugliness, self and other, are not fixed with respect to self. This land which is not fixed is called the True Land 眞土. Thus, the purity or pollution of a land is bound to [the perception of] living beings. Therefore [the Vimalakîrti-sûtra] says: "Bodhisattva [and] Buddha lands exist [in accordance with specific] categories of living beings." When someone refers to [the fact that] the purity or pollution of a land is bound to [the perception of] living beings, this is the Recompense-Response Land 衆生報應之土, and not the Tathâgata land, which cannot be likened to any particular place of response. I will make an attempt to explain this: the Pure Land cultivated by the Tathâgata takes "no place 無方" as its essence, and thus living beings [who have engaged in] diverse practices may gaze in the same direction but perceive different things. Because of these differing perceptions, purity and pollution arise. Because it is without place, the True Land assumes form. The recompense of living beings is [precisely] this adherence to [the distinction between] purity and pollution. The reality 眞 of the Buddha Land is [precisely] that it is fundamentally devoid of place.[72]

The Buddha -- the Perfected Man -- does not reside in any particular locale, but manifests in a particular place and time in response to things. The same point is elaborated in the fourth essay of the Chao lun, the Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun 涅槃無名論 ("Nirvāṇa is Nameless"):

> Vimalakîti said: "I discern the Tathâgata as one without beginning or end, who has passed beyond the six âyatana and left the triple realm. He neither resides in space 方, nor is he apart from it; he is not active nor non-active. He cannot be cognized through consciousness nor understood through the intellect. He is without words and speech, and has extinguished all mental activity. To discern him in this way is called "right seeing," while to discern him in any other way is not to see the Buddha."[73] The Fang-kuang says: "The Buddha is like empty space, free of comings and goings. He manifests in response to conditions 應緣而現, and yet is free of any particular locale."[74] Thus, the nature of the sage in the world is that of utter quiescence and empty non-being. He is free of clinging and contentiousness, leads yet never initiates, responds, but only when moved to do so [by another] 感而後應. He is like an echo sounding in a deep valley, or an image reflecting in a bright mirror; encountering him you do not know whence he comes; following him you do not know whither he goes.[75]

The mind of the sage is also a central theme in the third essay of the Chao-lun entitled Pan-jo wu chih lun 般若無知論 ("Prajñâ Has No Knowing"). Here the sage is identified as prajñâ itself, likened to a mirror passively reflecting everything with which it comes into contact. The mirror of prajñâ spontaneously and perfectly responds to all things without being the least diminished thereby.

> Therefore the knowledge [of the sage] is a mirror [reflecting] the utterly abstruse, and yet there is no knowing therein. His spirit functions through responding to occasions 應會, yet there is no deliberation therein.
>
> * * *
>
> The sage illumines the markless absolute truth with the prajñâ of non-knowing. . . . Prajñâ is the inexhaustible mirror. In coming into contact it never errs.[76] There is accord, yet no affirmation. Calm and quiescent, it is without knowing, yet there is nothing that it does not know.[77]

Seng-chao's writings are replete with passages to the same effect: the true nature of the Buddha or sage is unmanifest, yet will make itself known and appear to the supplicant in need. But how is the adherent or supplicant supposed to induce this "response" in the Buddha? It is to this issue -- the nature of Chinese Buddhist invocation -- that we will now turn our attention.

M. Invocation

The trikâya theory, whether in Indian or Chinese guise, might be considered typical of the doctrinal excesses of Buddhist scholastics. The theory would thus be of interest only to Buddhist metaphysicians intent upon systematizing and harmonizing the haphazard "Buddhology" culled from the sûtras. Yet such seemingly arcane doctrinal formulations often prove to have functional applications in the domain of liturgy, ritual and meditation practice. In order to fully grasp the import of Buddhist scholasticism, we must keep in mind the institutional and liturgical environment in which it thrived. And as mentioned above, that environment was preoccupied with the invocation of Buddhas through the worship of icons. We will accordingly turn our attention to the question of what the "resonant-body of the Buddha" meant in the context of Chinese Buddhist monastic practice.

As mentioned above, Mahâyâna Buddhist ritual revolves around the worship of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, forms which are enlivened in the process of ritual invocation. Buddhist invocation, whether classed as "esoteric" or "exoteric," typically involves the transformation of the sanctuary into a Buddha realm populated by one or more Buddhas and Tathâgatas, followed by symbolic offerings, recitation of scripture, transference of merit, and so on. Many of the most popular sûtras in the East Asian Buddhist tradition appear concerned with providing a textual foundation for the ritual worship of stûpas, painted and sculpted images, and other iconic forms. Notable in this regard is the Ti-tsang p'u-sa pen-yüan ching mentioned above. This text, preoccupied with the construction and worship of paintings and images of the Bodhisattva Ti-tsang 地藏, expounds at length on the benefits of invocation.[78] A similar concern is seen in the Lotus Sûtra, which explicitly rationalizes (or "theologizes") the ritual worship of stûpas, Buddhas of the past, and celestial bodhisattvas -- practices which may have been opposed by more "conservative" segments of the saṃgha at the time when the sûtra was compiled. And, of course, the longer and shorter Sukhâvatî-

vyûha-sûtras must also be included among the important scriptures closely connected to practices of invocation and worship of Tathâgatas.

The object or "goal" of this genre of ritual worship is to "discern" (kuan 觀) or "see" (chien 見) the body of the Buddha. This is stated clearly in the earliest "Pure Land" text in China, the Pan-chou san-mei ching 般舟三昧經 (Sk. Pratyutpanna-samâdhi-sûtra), the first Chinese translation of which is attributed to Lokakṣema.[79] The Pratyutpanna-samâdhi of the title is one in which the practitioner stands face-to-face with the Buddha, although there is some ambiguity in the Chinese translations as to whether it is the Buddha who manifests himself in front of the practitioner, or the other way around (Harrison 1979: 2-3).

The beginning of the sûtra has the Bodhisattva Bhadrapâla asking a question which repeats the formula "which samâdhi will lead the bodhisattva to the following accomplishment . . . " Each repetition of this formula is followed by a specific "accomplishment," the last of which concerns seeing the Buddha. The Jñânagupta translation reads:

> Through which practice is one able, in a single instant, to arrive in front of all Buddhas 即能遍至一切諸佛前故? Furthermore, through which practice is one able to abide in the Buddhakṣetras of all [those Buddhas] and universally perceive all the monks listening to the true dharma and making offerings to all the Buddhas of the ten directions, not only without yet having attained the six transcendental super-powers but also without yet having attained the five mundane super-powers and also without having shed this worldly body, and without having been born into any of those Buddha-lands. Simply remaining in this land, one is able to see all the Buddhas -- World-Honored Ones -- of all other worlds, hear the true dharma which is proclaimed by all the Buddhas, and hearing and receiving it all, cultivate it in the manner explained. World-honored One: just as the sage Ananda is in front of the World-honored One at this very moment, intimately listening to the dharma, receiving and upholding it all, and practicing it in the manner explained, [so too] the bodies of all those bodhisattvas continue to dwell in this land and without traveling to that world are yet able to perceive all the Buddhas, World-honored Ones, hear the dharma, receive and uphold it all, and cultivate it in the manner explained. From that time on, in whatever place he dwells,

> he will never be far from all Buddhas, World Honored Ones, and will always hear the true dharma. Even his dreams will be so.[80]

Elsewhere the sûtra reaffirms that the vision of the Buddha is not achieved through the divine eye, through transporting oneself to another world-sphere, or any other magical power. The samâdhi is such that while remaining in this very world one comes face-to-face with the Buddha (Amitâyus), listens to the true dharma, worships and reveres the Buddha.[81] The text thus refuses to posit an independently existent realm which is made available to the practitioner through the samâdhi. The world of the Buddhas is not other than the world in which the practitioner is situated here and now -- it is a world constructed through mental activity.

> [The practitioner] contemplates as follows: "From where did these Buddhas come just now? And this body of mine, from where did it appear?" Discerning that those Tathâgatas ultimately did not come from anywhere or go anywhere, he understands his own body in the same manner. Originally there is no realm from which to come, so how could there be any turning [through the wheel of saṃsâra]. Moreover, [the practitioner] must perform the following contemplation: "This triple world exists merely as mind. Why so? In accord with my thoughts, so things appear. ※ Now it is with my mind that I perceive the Buddha; my mind produces the Buddha. My mind _is_ the Buddha. My mind _is_ the Tathâgata. My mind _is_ my body. My mind sees the Buddha. [Yet] mind does not itself know mind; mind does not itself see mind. When the mind produces thought there is saṃsâra. Nirvâṇa is precisely the mind devoid of thought. All dharmas are unreal, but arise dependent upon thought. . .[82]

The Buddhas and their Buddha-lands have no independent ontological status -- they exist nowhere other than in the minds of the practitioner. But this does not impinge upon their "power" or "grace." To quote from the Jñânagupta translation of the Pratyutpanna-sûtra:

> The vision of the Buddha arises in dependence upon three causes. What are the three? The first is the cause of the samâdhi itself; the second is the empowerment of that Buddha 彼佛加持; and the third is the ripening of one's own good roots of merit. When these three conditions are fully established, one attains a clear vision of all those Tathâgatas. (T.416: 13.877a9-15)

Notable is the appearance of the term chia-ch'ih 加持 in this passage, which usually renders the Sanskrit term adhiṣṭhâna in Chinese translations. The extant Tibetan recension of the Pratyutpanna however, differs somewhat from the Jñânagupta text. Harrison's rendering of the Tibetan reads:

> The bodhisattva who is established in this samâdhi sees the Tathâgatas, and they appear to him through the combination and concurrence of these three things: the might of the Buddha (buddhânubhâva), the power of the roots of goodness engendered by himself, and the fact of obtaining the samâdhi. (1979: 36)

Closer to the Tibetan text is the earlier Chinese translation attributed to Lokakṣema: "There are three things [necessary to establish this samâdhi]: holding to the power of the majesty of the Buddha, holding to the power of the Buddha's samâdhi, and holding to the power of the roots of merit 有三事 持佛威神力 持佛三昧力 持本功德力 用是三事故得見佛" (T.418: 13.905b15-17).

Whether the original Sanskrit term (or terms) was buddhânubhâva or adhiṣṭhâna need not concern us here. Both terms, and their Chinese equivalents, are ubiquitous in Buddhist materials used to describe the incursion of the divine into the human realm. In Chinese materials both chia-ch'ih and wei-shen li refer to the power of the Tathâgata to come to the assistance of the supplicant, making possible the transposition of the supplicant into the realm of the divine without the aid of supernormal powers attained through accomplishment in siddhi. Depending upon context, these terms can be rendered in English as "supernatural power," "grace," "divine blessings" or "divine protection" extended not only to living beings but also to sacred implements and scriptures.[83]

N. Exoteric and Esoteric in Chinese Buddhism

The term chia-ch'ih is usually associated with mi-chiao 密教 or Chinese Tantra, although once again our view of the situation in China is unduly influenced by the sectarian movements which flourished in Japan. The invocation of Buddhas and other multifarious deities was in fact practiced by Chinese Buddhists of virtually all persuasions. The so-called kuan-ching 觀經 or "discernment sûtras," for example, describe elaborate visualization procedures performed with the aid of icons, involving the recitation of mantras and the names of the Buddhas.[84] These texts promise that the procedures described will in short order eradicate even the most intractable evil karma, as well as cure all sorts of bodily ailments -- claims commonly associated with tantra. Yet the kuan-ching appeared in China in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, well before the Tantric "transmissions" of the T'ang. Moreover, texts belonging to the kuan-ching genre directly influenced the major strands of Chinese Buddhism, most notably T'ien-t'ai and Pure Land. With the sole exception of the Kuan yao-wang yao-shang erh p'u-sa ching 觀藥王藥上二菩薩經, the "discernment sûtras" were not classified as "esoteric scriptures" in China.

Japanese scholars classify the "tantra-like" elements found in pre-T'ang scriptures such as the Pratyutpanna-samâdhi and the kuan-ching under the rubric of zô-mitsu 雜密 -- "miscellaneous-esoterism" or "proto-tantra." But the classification must be used with caution by Western scholars, as it lies in the service of a sectarian polemic interested in establishing the superiority of the later Tantric transmissions brought to Japan by Kûkai and Saichô. In fact, Japanese scholars, following traditional mikkyô exegetics, interweave two distinctions when discussing East Asian esoterism: one between exoteric and esoteric teachings (kengyô 顯教 and mikkyô 密教), and a second between pure esoterism and mixed esoterism (junmitsu 純密 and zômitsu). In either case a formal distinction is made contrasting doctrines taught by the dharmakâya Buddha (Vairocana), with those taught by the nirmâṇakâya or

sambhogakâya Buddha (Śâkyamuni). Kûkai wields the first distinction -- that between exoteric and esoteric -- as part of a clearly polemic p'an-chiao. His interest lies in (1) demonstrating the superiority of the esoteric over the exoteric. At the same time he wants to show that (2) earlier exoteric materials contain esoteric doctrines that go unrecognized by exoteric monks, and that (3) esoteric Buddhism encompasses all exoteric teachings.[85] The desire to maintain all three claims simultaneously created tensions which led to the later distinction between "pure" and "mixed" tantra.

The distinction between the pure and the mixed acknowledges the fact that "tantric-style" practices were ubiquitous in China from the time of the introduction of Buddhism during the later Han up until the arrival of Amoghavajra in the eighth-century. By "tantric-style" practices Shingon exegetes refer to the use of dhâranî, mantra, mandala, and so on, and the advocacy of worldly ends in addition to soteriological ones. If particular practices cannot be used to define "pure esoterism," the burden must be carried solely by the formal distinction between scriptures expounded by the nirmânakâya Buddha Śâkyamuni, and scriptures taught by the dharmakâya Buddha Vairocana, primarily the Mahâvairocana-sûtra (Ta-jih ching 大日經, T.848) and the Tattva-samgraha-sûtra (Chin-kang-ting ching 金剛頂經, T.865, T.866, and T.882). This normative distinction is fine as far as it goes, but it is of little value for the scholar who is interested in descriptive rather than normative historical reconstruction. If the distinction between "pure-esoterism" and pre-Amoghavajra Buddhism is not one of substantially different modes of practice, nor of the relation of means to ends, is it nonetheless doctrinally significant? It is hard to imagine what doctrinal issues hang on this formal distinction.

I would argue that there is little new in the Shingon insistence that the "final" or "most perfect" teaching is that taught by the dharma-body Buddha. There is a rhetorical strand in Buddhist dialectic, evident even in the Pali canon, which asserts that the real body of Bud-

dha Śâkyamuni <u>is</u> the dharma-body. This strand finds full expression in the <u>Lotus Sûtra</u> which holds that the real body of the Buddha is in some sense eternal, but the <u>Lotus</u> is by no means exceptional in this position. Indeed, it is difficult to find a Mahâyâna sûtra which does not employ a variety of literary devices to emphasize precisely this point. <u>Prajñâpâramitâ</u> literature, for example, asserts that the Buddha is the product of the <u>upâya</u> of <u>Prajñâpâramitâ</u>, and asserts that the thirty-two major marks of the Buddha are in reality non-marks:

> In a true sense this [<u>Prajñâpâramitâ</u>] is the body of the Tathâgatas. As the Lord has said: "The dharma-bodies are the Buddhas, the Lords. But, monks, you should not think that this individual body is my body. Monks, you should see Me from the accomplishment of the dharma-body." But that Tathâgata-body should be seen as brought about by the reality-limit, i.e. by the perfection of wisdom. (<u>Aṣṭasâhasrikâ</u>; trans. Conze 1975: 116)

The <u>Vimalakîrti-sûtra</u> makes the same point in no uncertain terms: "The Buddha-body is the dharma-body 佛身者即法身也" (T.475: 14.539c1), and "All of the bodies of the Tathâgatas are dharma-bodies, not worldly bodies. The Buddha, the World-Honored one, is transcendent to the three realms" (T.475: 14.542a).[86] The second chapter of the <u>Suvarṇaprabhâsottama-sûtra</u> claims that the Tathâgata's life is immeasurable, and that his body can never yield a relic because it is uncreated and unarisen: "How can there be a relic in a body without bone or blood?" (Emmerick 1970: 7). One could further cite the first <u>chüan</u> of the <u>Samâdhirâja-sûtra</u> which talks of one-thousand-billion Buddhas, all with the same name, with sons and disciples of the same name, all born in Kapilavastu, and so on, thus effacing the "contingency" of Śâkyamuni.[87] And finally, the verses at the beginning of the <u>Laṅkâvatâra</u> close by proclaiming that:

> The true essence of the Buddha dharma is neither existent nor nonexistent. The mark of the dharma is always thus -- such distinctions are merely the product of one's own mind. One who perceives objects as real entities does not perceive the Buddha. Even the mind which does not abide in discrimination is unable to perceive the Buddha. Not perceiving any activity whatsoever -- this is called perceiving the Buddha. One who is able to perceive in such

a manner perceives the Tathâgata. (T.671: 16.516b24-29 [Bodhiruci translation])

But one need not resort to the exuberant Buddhology of the larger Mahâyâna sûtras to argue that, from a doctrinal position, the "real" Śâkyamuni Buddha is a dharmakâya Buddha. The Kuan p'u-hsien p'u-sa hsing-fa ching, one of the "discernment sûtras" mentioned above, explicitly states that Śâkyamuni is Vairocana: "Śâkyamuni is known as Vairocana, the All Pervading One. The abode of that Buddha is called Ever Quiescent and Radiant" (T.277: 9.392c15-17). And Chih-i repeats the identification in the Lotus Samâdhi Repentance (Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i 法華三昧懺儀, T.1941: 46.953a27-28).

To recapitulate, I am not suggesting that the distinction between esoteric and exoteric is of no value in the analysis of East Asian Buddhism, but only that the distinction is wielded in the service of sectarian polemics and thus must be used with caution. The use of "magical" words, gestures and visualizations in procedures intended to conjure munificent deities with salvific powers are features common to virtually all traditions of Chinese Buddhism, whether monastic or lay, high-brow or popular, esoteric or exoteric.

O. Conjuring Buddhas and Sympathetic Response

As we have seen in the Pratyutpanna-samâdhi, Indian texts spoke of the invocation of deities in terms of the interaction between the practitioner and the Buddha or bodhisattva being conjured. The supplicant must rely in part upon the power or "grace" (anubhâva) of the Buddha occupying the central position in the rite. What concerns us here is the manner in which the Chinese understood the interaction between supplicant and Buddha.

The Chinese compound kan-ying, though not employed in the rendering of any specific Sanskrit term, occurs frequently in Chinese discus-

sions concerning the relationship between man and Buddha and the mechanism of invocation. It also occurs in passages elucidating the term chia-ch'ih 加持 or "empowerment," and later Shingon exegetes explicitly identify the mechanism of chia-ch'ih with that of kan-ying.[88] Kan-ying is the principle underlying the interaction between practitioner and Buddha -- the supplicant is said to "affect" (kan) the Buddha, an action which elicits the Buddha's compassionate response (ying). In this context one encounters expressions such as "affect the Buddha" (kan fo 感佛) or "affect the Tathâgata" (kan ju-lai 感如來). What are we to make of these locutions?

To twentieth-century Westerners steeped in a seemingly self-evident Cartesian discourse, the interpretation of the term kan in medieval Chinese documents poses a somewhat peculiar difficulty. The earliest Chinese etymological dictionary, the Shuo-wen chieh-tzu 說文解字, defines kan as "to move a person's mind" 感、動人心也, a definition which suggests the English "incite," "agitate," "stimulate," and so on (MH 4.1132a). I will provisionally designate this range of meanings "ontological" in so far as to kan another person is to affect the mind of a being external to oneself. In modern Mandarin and Japanese usage, however, the term kan refers not to an activity which impresses or impinges upon another, but rather to a "subjective" event, normally rendered into English as to "feel," "experience," "sense" or "become aware of." I will designate this second range of meanings "epistemological" in so far as they imply a subjective experience, perception, or cognition, which may or may not correlate with an event in the external world.

One might construe our task as one of determining which sense of kan is intended in phrases such as kan fo or kan ju-lai: does it mean to move the Buddha, or simply to experience his presence? In the former case the use of kan would imply a conception of the Buddha as ontologically "other," while the latter "epistemological" reading of kan leaves open the possibility that the Buddha manifest to the practitioner is no

more than a construct or projection of the practitioner's mind in samâdhi. In the latter case there may be no ultimate ontological distinction between Buddha and supplicant. Curiously, occurrences of the term kan-fo in medieval Buddhist materials resist our attempts to distinguish epistemological from ontological readings. Our desire for a precise analysis of the ontological status of divinity is frustrated by what at first appears to be relentless equivocation on the part of ritual exegetes -- the term kan invariably lends itself to either interpretation. It soon becomes evident that, as mentioned above, the Western and particularly Cartesian distinctions between epistemology and ontology -- between subjective and objective -- have limited purchase when applied to medieval Chinese conceptual schemes.[89] (A similar point has been argued by Chad Hansen, who sought to demonstrate, through an analysis of the syntax of Pre-Han Chinese writings, that early Chinese philosophy did not, and in some sense could not make a distinction between universals and particulars. According to Hansen, early Chinese metaphysics was predicated upon a mereological conception of the universe.[90]) Thus, with some misgivings I render kan by the English term "stimulus" or "affect." The polyvalence of the latter term allows the construction of intentionally ambiguous English locutions which we will take as a "sign" of the complex ambiguity of the Chinese original.[91]

The period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (317-589) saw the emergence of the popular worship of the bodhisattva Kuan-yin 觀音 -- it was during this era that the Kuan-yin ching 觀音經 (i.e., the twenty-fifth chapter of the Lotus Sûtra) began to circulate as an independent work. Chronicles were compiled recording numerous instances in which Kuan-yin responded to a supplicant in need, and delivered him or her from danger or illness. Fukushima Kôsai has shown that the spread of the Kuan-yin cult was accompanied by a growing scholastic debate concerning the workings of kan-ying (Fukushima 1979: 36). The simple fact that not everyone was successful in eliciting Kuan-yin's assistance demanded explanation.

There is evidence that the controversy surrounding the interpretation of kan-ying was carried on among exegetes in the Ch'eng-shih lun 成實論 tradition, including Chih-tsang 智藏 (458-522), and Seng-min 僧旻 (467-527). The writings of the Ch'eng-shih lun commentators no longer survive, but their theories are preserved in part in the no-doubt biased works of their principle critics, the systematizers of the "new" San-lun 三論 school. A number of San-lun works, including the Ta-ch'eng ssu-lun hsüan-i 大乘四論玄義 by Chün-cheng 均正 (d.u.),[92] and the Ta-ch'eng hsüan-lun 大乘玄論 by Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549-623; T.1853: 45), record the Ch'eng-shih lun positions in their detailed discussions of the mechanism of invocation. In fact, the sixth fascicle of the former work is devoted exclusively to the exegesis of kan-ying.

Chi-tsang's position is laid out in the fifth fascicle of the Ta-ch'eng hsüan-lun (T.1853: 45.66a6-67a2). The section begins as follows:

> Affect and response is the great tenet of the Buddha-dharma, the essential teaching of the many sûtras. To "affect" means to bring or summon forth, and to "respond" means to go forth and meet in welcome. As all sentient beings possess [the seeds of] goodness, they may induce the Buddhas to descend and take shape in front of them, and [the Buddhas] will meet them in welcome. The principle [is such that they] neither deviate nor overshoot [the mark]. This is called stimulus and response. 感應者乃是佛法之大宗 衆經之綱要 言感者牽召義 應者赴接義 衆生有善致彼佛 前垂形赴接 理無乖越 謂之感應. The common person affects but does not respond; the Buddhas respond but do not affect; and bodhisattvas both respond and affect. Affects are not all the same; in brief there are four kinds. The first affects the form but not the voice -- one only sees the Buddha but does not hear the dharma. The seconds affects the voice but not the form -- one hears the teachings directly but does not see the Buddha. The third affects both the voice and the form -- one sees the Buddha and hears the dharma. The fourth neither sees the Buddha nor hears the dharma, but directly affects the divine powers and esoteric dominions. (T.1853: 45.66a7-14)

The notion that sentient beings have the capacity to affect the Buddhas, and that the Buddhas possess the power to respond, was non-controversial. The problem for the scholiasts began with the simple observation that not everyone was capable of eliciting this response. Why did some practitioners attest to visions of the Buddha while others did

not? The *Ch'eng-shih lun* scholars held various positions concerning the kinds of karmic seeds which would yield a response. Chinese San-lun texts enumerate in exhaustive detail their many competing theories, only to refute each in turn in characteristic Mâdhyamika fashion. Each position is found to entail self-contradiction and to lead to either nihilism or eternalism 墮斷常. For example, if the stimulus is the result of the accumulation of good merit, then what need would there be for the assistance of the Buddhas? As Chi-tsang says, "If one is free of illness, what need is there for a doctor?" (T.1853: 66a20). All Buddhist scriptures teach that Buddhas and bodhisattvas appear in the world precisely out of their compassionate desire to help those who are mired in defilement and delusion. But the opposite position is equally untenable. To those who insist that the stimulus lies in the seeds of evil or defilement (*o* 惡), Chi-tsang asks rhetorically: "Why then don't all [defiled] beings see the Buddha?" (T.1853: 45.66a18-19).

On the one hand, the San-lun critics exploit the weaknesses of their opponents' positions. At the same time they offer forth their own theories, explicating *kan-ying* under the rubric of principle (*li* 理) and phenomena (*shih* 事). The explanation in terms of *li* is of particular relevance to our present discussion, as it explicitly involves the principle of "classes" or *lei* examined above. The discussion begins with the question: "If it is precisely the defiled or evil beings who require the assistance of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, how is it that the dharma-body, which is essentially pure and free of defilement, is able to respond?" Response or resonance only occurs between objects of the same class. The San-lun solution to this quandary is to affirm, from the point of view of "principle," the essential identity of both Buddha and sentient beings:

> Sentient beings [all] have Buddha nature. Since sentient beings possess [Buddha-]nature, they are able to affect the Buddha. Since sentient beings are all children of the Buddha, the Buddha responds to sentient beings. Consequently, for there to be a stimulus and response there must be a correspondence of natural types. The *ch'i* of the Buddha and sentient beings are of the same

> category. Sentient beings, sharing the same ch'i category as the Buddha, may thus [be designated both] "Buddha[-natured] sentient beings," and "sentient-being Buddhas." As they are "Buddha[-natured] sentient beings," sentient beings affect the Buddha. As they are "sentient-being Buddhas" the Buddhas respond to sentient beings. 衆生有佛性 衆生有性故衆生能感佛 衆生皆是佛子故佛應衆生 乃是感應必是性類相關 佛與衆生氣類 衆生是佛氣類故此是佛衆生 此是衆生佛 是佛衆生故衆生感佛 是衆生佛故佛應此衆生 (ZZ.74.32b8-13)

But the question remained: if all beings have Buddha-nature, and the Buddhas resonate with like kinds, why can't everyone see the Buddha? (ZZ.74.34b7-8) After meticulously examining and rejecting each of the arguments put forward by their opponents, the San-lun position is stated as follows:

> If the water of the mind of living beings is clear, the reflection of bodhi will appear within. Thus if the water of the mind is sullied you will not see the Buddha, but if the water of the mind is pure the Buddha will be seen. This Buddha does not come from without, nor emerge from within. It is only through the condition of purity of mind that one may see the Buddha. It can be compared to a clear mirror. The image [in the mirror] does not come from without, nor does it emerge from within. Moreover, the image is neither identical with the mirror, nor is it different from it. For if you say they are identical, then given a mirror there must always be an image, irrespective of whether or not the mirror is clean. And if you say they are different, then how would you go about separating them? . . . Therefore, when the mirror is clean the image appears. The purity of the mirror is like the stimulus, and the appearance of the image is like the response. The great purport of affect and response is like this. 但衆生心水若淨 菩提顯影便現其中 心水濁便不見佛 心水淨便見佛 而此佛不從外來 亦復不内出 但心淨因緣故便見佛事 如鏡淨像非是外來 亦非内出 但此像與鏡非一 亦復非異 若言鏡與像一 有鏡便應有像不俟須淨 若言異 此是鏡像 復豈得異耶 鏡淨因故像現 鏡淨譬於感 像現譬於應也 感應大意如此. (ZZ.74.34d11-18)

There is no doubt that the Buddhist notion of kan-ying is thoroughly permeated with the classical Chinese notion of the "sympathetic resonance among like kinds." In fact, the Ta-ch'eng ssu-lun hsüan-i goes on to cite the example of the bell spontaneously responding to the collapse of the bronze mountain discussed above in section D:

> One [type of excellent dharma] is of the same category as the dharma-body. As they are of the same category they correspond with each other and thus affect one another. It is like the "mirror bell" [sounding] in response to the collapse of the bronze mountain. 一與法身同類同類相關故得相感 如銅山崩而鏡鈴應也. (ZZ. 74.35c5-6)

P. The T'ien-t'ai Doctrine of Kan-ying

The Buddhist doctrine of "stimulus and response" was further developed by T'ien-t'ai exegetes, who use the notion in both theoretical and practical discussions concerning the invocation of Buddhas. Indeed, T'ien-t'ai Chih-i's commentaries were no doubt largely responsible for the widespread use of kan-ying principles in later Chinese and Japanese Buddhist exegetics. Kan-ying was one of thirty "wonders" or miao 妙 in Chih-i's systematization of the Lotus, namely the "wonder of affect and response" (kan-ying miao 感應妙), and a sizable portion of Chih-i's twenty chüan exegesis of the Lotus, the Miao-fa lien-hua ching hsüan-i 妙法蓮華經玄義 (T.1716: 33), is organized around these thirty "wonders."[93]

A look at Chih-i's writings on the "wonder of affect and response" reveals the considerable influence of San-lun commentaries, particularly those of Chi-tsang. Modern scholarship is only now beginning to appreciate the degree to which Chih-i's doctrinal works are permeated by San-lun thought. Hirai Shun'ei has recently demonstrated that large sections of Chih-i's corpus appear to be plagiarized from San-lun sources. Hirai explains this fact by calling attention to the important role played by Chih-i's disciple Kuan-ting 灌頂 (561-632) in editing Chih-i's prodigious corpus. In the preface to the Miao-fa-lien-hua wen-chü 妙法蓮華經文句 we are told that although Kuan-ting was twenty-seven when he first heard the lectures, it was not until his sixty-ninth year that he finished editing the wen-chü (T.1718: 34.1a; Swanson 1989: 270 n.5). Chih-i's disciples, including Kuan-ting, were no doubt influenced by Chi-tsang's writings during the period following Chih-i's death, and

the "three great commentaries" traditionally attributed to Chih-i are now understood to have been largely shaped by Kuan-ting and others. Nevertheless, whether ultimately the work of Chih-i, Kuan-ting, or even Chi-tsang, the T'ien-t'ai theory of kan-ying became central to the later Chinese understanding of the rites of invocation, and we will examine it briefly here.

The Miao-fa lien-hua ching hsüan-i introduces the "wonder of affect" and response as follows:

> The "wonder of affect and response" refers to the affect and response in four phases 四句,[94] affect and response in thirty-six phases,[95] affect and response in the twenty-five [realms of being],[96] and the affect and response of the distinct and perfect [teachings] 別圓感應. Water does not rise, nor does the moon descend, yet in a single instant the one moon is manifest in manifold [bodies] of water. [Similarly] Buddhas do not come and sentient beings do not go. The power of the good roots of compassion should be perceived in this way. Therefore it is called the "wonder of affect and response."[97]

A full analysis of the "wonder of affect and response" is found in fascicle 6a of the same text (T.1716: 33.746c12-749c25). Here we find not only the analogy of the single moon reflecting simultaneously in bodies of water everywhere, but also the analogy of an image reflected a thousand times in mirrors set opposite to one another (T.1716: 33.749c5-9). The power of beings to affect a response in the Buddha is identified with the power of the impetus or chi 機, the source of which lies in the karmic accumulation of good deeds (see below). Just as the water must be clear and still to reflect the light of the moon, the mind must be clear and still to elicit the response of the Buddha. We have already seen this image employed by Chi-tsang in his analysis of "stimulus-response with respect to principle." In later exegetical works in China and Japan, the image of the moon on the water becomes the standard illustration of the workings of kan-ying.[98] The image is adopted by Kûkai, for example, who explains the workings of "empowerment" (adhiṣṭhâna or chia-ch'ih 加持) in terms of kan-ying. In

his Sokushin jôbutsu gi 即身成佛義 ("Attaining Enlightenment in This Very Existence") Kûkai writes:

> Kaji indicates the great compassion of the Tathâgata and the mind of faith of living beings. The reflection of the Buddha's sun-like [radiance] on the water of the minds of living beings is called ka [adding], and the ability of the water of the mind of the practitioner to affect the Buddha is called ji [retaining]. If the practitioner is able to discern and contemplate this principle, he will co-resonate with the three mysteries and therefore, in his visible body, is able to quickly come to manifest and realize his original three bodies. 佛日之影現衆生心水日加 行者心水能感佛日名持 行者若能觀念此理趣 三密相應故現身速疾顯現證得本有三身.[99]

Kûkai's influence can in turn be detected in the more popular Kamakura collection of Buddhist tales, the Sha-seki shû 沙石集 by Mujû Ichien 無住一圓 (1226-1312):

> According to Shingon doctrine, the power of kaji 加持力 refers to the responsive communion between the body of the Buddha and those of sentient beings, not unlike the moon lodging in the water by reflection. Moreover, when the burning embers and the charcoal are intermingled and we poke the embers along with the charcoal, then the charcoal presently becomes embers. Similarly, when those who practice the religious life with faith come into contact with the august body of the Buddha, the devotee presently becomes the Buddha. This is what is called the power of kaji.[100]

This image of mind as a body of water passively reflecting the light of the moon was rather popular in explanations of the relationship of Buddha to living beings. Only when water is clear and calm will it reflect the pure light of the moon, and only when the practitioner's mind is similarly clear and tranquil will it reflect the pure radiance of Buddha nature. This account would seem to suggest that kan be translated as "to experience" or "to receive a sense impression." But a full examination of the term mitigates against such a reading. In the Mo-ho chih-kuan, for example, we find the following discussion concerning the practice of reciting the name of the Buddha 專稱一佛名字. The passage concerns the benefits accrued through the actual vocalization of the Buddha's name:

The air 風 coming into contact with the seven places in the body completes the physical act, and the echo of the voice emerging from the lips completes the vocal act. These two deeds [of body and speech] are able to assist the mind in creating an impetus that affects the Buddha's descent 二能助意成機感佛俯降. It is like a man pulling a weight whose own strength is insufficient and so seeks out the assistance of one nearby. He can then lift it with ease. The situation of the practitioner is similar: if his mind is weak he is unable to remove obstacles, but if he recites the name [of the Buddha] and requests his protection, negative conditions will be unable to bring him harm. (T.1191: 46.11b14-18)

This passage is particularly suggestive as the Buddha is said to descend in response to the practitioner's "impetus." The practitioner, lacking the power to accomplish his religious objectives on his own, seeks to elicit the very real assistance of the Buddha through the cultivation of an impetus which, through the principle of kan-ying will effect the descent of a "transformation body" of the Buddha. A similar explanation is found in Chih-i's Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i:

[If the proper preliminary expedients are not performed prior to any repentance] then the mind [intent upon the] way will not emerge, the practice will not accord with the dharma, and there will be nothing with which to affect the descent [of the Buddha] 無所感降.[101]

There is little doubt that the Buddha called upon was considered to possess real power quite independent from the mind of the practitioner, a power to which the adept had access through the ardent performance of rites of invocation and supplication. The following two passages from the Mo-ho chih-kuan lend further credence to this reading, the first drawn from a description of the "gate of liberation" (chieh-t'o men 解脱門):

In the sanctuary the practitioner must bitterly apply himself to confession, giving rise to a mind of settled determination and raising the great vows. He should cast aside body, life, and property without attachment or regret. . . . Having made such a resolution he should call upon the Buddhas of the ten directions to act as his witness and come to his aid. If his heart is genuine and free of deceit he can affect the Tathâgatas who send forth their radiant light and illumine and remove his obstructions 感如來放種光明照除慳蔽.[102]

* * *

> There are four ways of elucidating the karmic signs 業相. The first is through the causes and conditions 因縁 behind the emergence of the sign . . . Causes and conditions [in turn can be classified as] internal or external. Internal refers to the investigation of the mind through cessation and discernment. The mind gradually becomes clear and pure, illuminating good and evil. . . . External [causes and conditions] refers to all Buddhas who ceaselessly, with love and compassion, respond to all [beings]. If beings lack the necessary impetus they will be unable to gain the attention [of the Buddha], but through the power of cessation and discernment they can affect all the Buddhas 衆生無機不能得覩以止觀力能感諸佛. (T.1911: 46.112a2-10)

The term chi or "impetus" is multivalent in Buddhist materials, but in the context at hand it is that which allows the practitioner to kan the Buddha; it is the latent capacity or potential accumulated by the practitioner through meritorious karmic activity to which the Buddha responds.[103] The notion of "impetus" is, accordingly, closely associated with the idea of "affect and response," and it functions as the focus of many of the Ch'eng-lun and San-lun controversies concerning kan-ying mentioned above.[104] Chih-i (or Kuan-ting), remaining true to San-lun principles, is careful to insist that ultimately one can assert neither the identity nor the difference of supplicant and Buddha, or of impetus and response. The following exchange is taken from the Miao-fa lien-hua ching hsüan-i:

> Question: As for the impetus of living beings and the response of the sage, are they identical or are they different? If they are identical, then in fact there is no impetus or response. If they are different, then how is it that they are interactively related 相交關 such that they are discussed [in terms of] impetus and response?
>
> Answer: They are neither identical nor different. Discussed in terms of principle 理 they are the same and cannot be differentiated. Discussed in terms of phenomena 事 there is both impetus and response and hence they are not identical. It can be likened to the natural relationship between father and son. One cannot say that the body of bones and flesh which has been passed down [from father to son] is different, and yet if they were the same, the father would be none other than the son and the son none other than the father, hence one cannot say they are the same. Therefore, being neither identical nor different they are discussed in

terms of father and son. The principle nature 理性 of living beings and the Buddha cannot be distinguished, and therefore are not different. Yet [this nature] is concealed in the case of living beings and manifest in the case of the Tathâgata, and therefore they are not identical. Being neither identical nor different they are discussed in terms of impetus and response. (T.1715: 33.747b3-11)

The analogy to the relationship between father and son alludes to the "prodigal son" tale in chapter 4 of Kumârajîva's translation of the Lotus, a tale commonly used in Chinese Buddhist exegesis to illustrate the nature of the relationship between the Buddha and his disciples. The tale illustrates the skill with which the Buddha adjusts his compassionate response to the capacity or potential of the disciple. This skill, expressed in terms such as sui-chi 隨機 (adjusting [the teaching] to the capacity [of the practitioner]), and chi-ying 機應 (responding to [the practitioner's] capacity), is further associated with the doctrines of upâya and trikâya mentioned above. The following passage from the Mo-ho chih-kuan explains the principle of kan-ying in conjunction with this "skill in means:"

Question: Does the practitioner himself give rise to the mind [of enlightenment] or does the teaching of others give rise to such a mind? Answer: Self, other, both self and other, or neither self nor other -- none of these can be attained. It is only through a correspondence between affect and response 感應道交 that we discuss the arising of mind. It is like a child falling into water or fire; the parents frantically try to rescue him. As it says in the Vimalakîrti-sûtra: "When the child is ill, the parents are also ill."[105] The Nirvâna-sûtra says: "The minds of a father and mother strongly incline towards a sick child."[106] [The bodhisattva so moved] moves the [immovable] mountain of dharma nature and enters the sea of birth and death, and there he involves himself in the practice of illness and practice of children 病行嬰兒行.[107] This is called giving rise to the mind [of enlightenment] through stimulus and response 感應發心. The Dhyâna-sûtra says: "The Buddha expounds the dharma by according with [his audience] in four ways: according with their joys, according to what is appropriate, according with what should be regulated, and according with the truth."[108] (1) [First,] in order to win over their minds, he preaches by gladdening their minds. (2) Taking cognizance of their karmic habits accumulated from past lives, he gives them practices which are easy to accept. (3) Discerning the gravity of their illness, he provides them with the appropriate amount of medicine. (4) When in the course of time their capacity for the

> Way has ripened, then simply hearing [the teaching] they awaken fully to the Way 道機時熟聞即悟道. Is this not the benefit of stimulus and response which accords with the capacity [of all beings] 隨機感應利益?[109]

The Mo-ho chih-kuan is unambiguous: neither the mind of the practitioner nor the teaching alone can give rise to awakening -- there must be a consonance between the two. It is in passages such as this one that we see the convergence of ideas, both Indian and Chinese, in the notion of "resonant response" or ying. The soteriology, though unmistakably "Buddhist," is nonetheless parasitic upon the cosmology of "sympathetic resonance." This cosmology is in turn placed in the service of a Mâdhyamika dialectic which precludes any simple one-sided analysis in terms of "self-power" (tzu-li 自力) or "other-power" (t'a-li 他力).

The opening sections to Chih-i's second major commentary to the Lotus, the Miao-fa lien-hua ching wen-chü 妙法蓮華經文句 (T.1718: 34) introduces four modes of exegesis (ssu-shih 四釋) developed by Chih-i. These are four different vantage points from which the Buddhist scriptures can be approached, namely (1) "exegesis with respect to cause and condition 因緣釋" which is also called "exegesis with respect to affect and response 感應釋;" (2) "exegesis with respect to the classification of the teachings 約教釋" (which is based on Chih-i's p'an-chiao or "tenet classification"); (3) "exegesis with respect to fundamentals and traces 本迹釋;" and (4) "exegesis with respect to discerning mind 觀心釋" (MZ 2.1796b-1797c). The first is explained as follows:

> [Exegesis with respect to] cause and condition 因緣 is also called "exegesis with respect to affect and response." If living beings lack the impetus 機, then even though they may be near [the Buddha or his doctrine] they do not perceive it, but if they have the strength of the good roots of compassion, although they may be far they can yet penetrate it. Because there is a correspondence between stimulus and response 感應道交 we use the terminology of causes and conditions in our exegesis. When sentient beings seek liberation this capacity is plentiful, and the arising of the sage's response is similarly plentiful. (T.1718: 34.2a27-29)

This first mode of exegesis is further divided into four under the rubric of the four siddhântas (ssu hsi-t'an 四悉檀) or "points of view," namely (1) "the worldly point of view 世界悉檀," (2) "the individual point of view 爲人悉檀," (3) "the therapeutic point of view 對治悉檀," and (4) "the ultimate point of view 第一義悉檀."[110] Chih-i comments on the last of these, i.e., the ultimate point of view:

> In respect to dharma-nature the Buddha is devoid of movement or emergence, and yet he is able to cause living beings to affect and perceive both movement and emergence 佛於法性無動無出 能令衆生感見動出. Yet with respect to the Tathâgata there is, in reality, an absence of both movement and emergence. This is exegesis [in respect to stimulus and response] from the perspective of the supreme truth. (T.1718: 34.4c17)

This small excursion into the minutia of T'ien-t'ai scholasticism was intended to demonstrate the manner in which the principle of cause and condition, or yin-yüan 因緣, is explicitly identified with that of kan-ying. This, indeed, brings us to the heart of the matter -- the identification of an indigenous Chinese metaphysical conception of interdependence with an Indian theory of causation.

The term yin-yüan was used early on in Chinese Buddhist materials as the technical equivalent of the Sanskrit hetu-pratyaya ("primary and secondary causes," or "causes and conditions"), but in time it came to denote the principle of causation in general, and co-dependent origination (pratîtya-samutpâda) in particular (MZ 1.173b-174a; Nakamura 1981: 72d-73a). As many have noted, the nature of causation was a central issue in many Indian philosophical and religious systems, Buddhism included, but was of relatively ancillary interest to the Chinese. Early Indian Buddhist scholastics were committed to an atomistic conception of the world, in which phenomenal events were analyzed in terms of interactions between infinitesimal, irreducible material and immaterial "dharmas." The "dharma theory" necessitated an account of causation which could explain how such seemingly autonomous and instantaneous events could interact and condition each other. The Chinese, on the other hand, perceived the cosmos in terms of the cyclic movements of the

five phases, the ethers, and the yin and yang, which respond to each other through the principle of kan-ying -- a cosmological view which did not predispose them to philosophical problems of causation per se. The principle of kan-ying did, however, provide an apparent analogue to Buddhist causal theories, particularly co-dependent origination.

Once the association between yin-yüan and kan-ying was made, it could be extended to diverse areas -- kan-ying could be employed in the exegesis of yin-yüan in cases where a general notion of the principle of causation was not intended. For example, the Kumârajîva translation of the Lotus contains the phrase i-ta-shih yin-yüan 一大事因緣 (Sk: eka-kṛtya), the "single great cause [behind the appearance of Buddhas in the world]."[111] This "one great cause" is none other than the desire on the part of all Buddhas to save living beings. Chih-i expounds on the phrase i-ta-shih yin-yüan in a section on bodhicitta in the Mo-ho chih-kuan:

> Why "single"? Because it is a single reality and is not void, because it is the purity of the single way, and because it is the one way out of saṃsâra for all those free of obstacles. . . . "Activity" 事 refers to the formal procedures 儀式 employed by the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three worlds through which they themselves attained the Buddha-way, and through which they bring salvation to all beings. Therefore it is called "activity." "Cause and condition" refers to the fact that by means of this cause all beings affect the Buddha 感佛, and this condition gives rise to the Buddha's response 應. Therefore we speak of "cause and condition." (T.1191: 46.9b22-29)

Chih-i repeatedly explains the cause and effect relationship between practitioner and Buddha which underlies the efficacy of Buddhist rites in terms of kan-ying cosmology. And this, as we have seen, is a by-product of a more general conflation of Indian Buddhist theories of causation with indigenous Chinese kan-ying and five-phase thought. Chih-i actually employs the five-phases in a section dealing with the twelve-linked chain of co-dependent origination. After enumerating each "link" in the chain, he expounds the "primary elements" (mahâbhûta) in terms of five-phase relationships:

> The color blue is born from wood, yellow from earth, red from fire, white from wind, and black from water. Moreover, we discern that wood comes from water, water from wind, wind from the yang breath 陽氣 of earth, earth from fire, fire from wood, and wood again is from water. In this manner they follow each other around a circle and begin again. Nothing arises of itself. If we examine the external five phases 五行 they [function in] just the same manner, as do the internal five viscera. The liver is born of blue breath, the heart of red breath, the lungs of white breath, the kidneys of black breath, and the stomach of yellow breath. . . (T.1911: 46.110b3-10)

We should not be surprised that Chih-i, or Kuan-ting, both learned aristocrats steeped in classical Chinese metaphysics, should have understood the Buddhist theory of causation in terms of kan-ying. The resulting system allowed the soteriological principle underlying the Buddhist doctrine of "grace" to be elucidated in native terms while at the same time conforming to Mâdhyamika principles of co-dependence and emptiness. These principles demand that the relationship be understood as one of equal co-dependence. Once again I quote the Mo-ho chih-kuan: "As for the expression 'causes and conditions 因緣,' sometimes the cause is in the sage and the condition in the ordinary person, while sometimes the cause is in the ordinary person and the condition is in the sage. This is the interaction of affect and response 感應道交" (T.1911: 46.5a).

* * *

In the last chapter I called into question the misguided notion of "normative Indian Mahâyâna" to be used as a standard against which to evaluate the "orthodoxy" of Chinese Buddhist doctrine and practice. I further raised questions concerning the adequacy of the term "syncretism" as it has been commonly applied to Chinese religious phenomena. All too often the scholarly use of the term is predicated upon an inappropriately essentialist conception of Chinese schools and sects, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. In this chapter I have suggested an alternative context in which to place Chinese Buddhist texts and doctrines, one which re-directs attention to the ubiquitous and persist-

ent influence of native Chinese cosmology. We have seen that some of the most sophisticated and influential medieval Chinese Buddhist exegetes consistently understood Indian Buddhist doctrines in the light of native Chinese ideas. The Chinese Buddhist conception of sagehood, the notion of the "response-body" of the Buddha, and the understanding of the efficacy of Buddhist invocation, all presume certain fundamental Chinese cosmological principles which I have subsumed under the heading "kan-ying thought."

Although we have strayed far from the PTL, it was necessary in order to provide a robust framework for the translation and interpretation which follows. We will see that the PTL can be rendered sensible only when placed within the context of native Chinese thought and cosmology, but to undertake such a contextualization is not to impugn the "Buddhism" of the work. Rather, our aim will be to go beyond the surface appearance of the text, which may resemble little more than a rather undisciplined hodgepodge of Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist ideas. Instead, we will find the text to be a tightly structured and elegant piece of Chinese Buddhist exegesis, and a concise presentation of the particular brand of eighth-century Buddhist ideology which contributed to the rise of Ch'an.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. The nature of Chinese "correlative thinking" has fascinated generations of sinologists ever since the monumental study by Wolfram Eberhard (1933), still the most comprehensive work in a Western language. For the following brief discussion of correlative thinking and five-phase theory I have consulted the following secondary sources: Bodde 1981b and 1981d; Cammann 1961; DeWoskin 1982: 67-83; Feuchtwang 1974: 40-48; Fung 1953: 7-87; Graham 1986 and 1989: 319-358; Granet 1930: 115-299; Henderson 1984: 1-58; Ho and Needham 1959; Le Blanc 1985; Loewe 1982: 38-47; Major 1978; Munakata 1983; Needham 1956: 232-345; Porkert 1974: 1-106; Rubin 1982; and Schwartz 1985: 350-382.

2. The common use of the term "element" for hsing can be traced to misconceptions on the part of early European missionaries to China (Porkert 1974: 45). It continues to be used by some, despite the fact that hsing carries none of the connotations of "essential material substance" associated with "element" in medieval European alchemy or modern science. Hsing is etymologically and semantically closer to "passage" or "process," and I will stick with "phase" suggested by Nathan Sivin. See, however, the reservations expressed by Schwartz, who notes that "If the term 'five elements' overemphasizes the role of the 'static substances,' the terms 'phases' and 'activities' overlook the role of static substances and categories within the entire syndrome of the wu hsing" (1985: 455 n.16). Graham is more historically discerning when he distinguishes between early (pre-Han) usage, for which the translation "process" or "conduct" is preferred, and later (Han and post-Han) usage, for which "phase" is more appropriate (1986: 74-77, and 89-92).

3. Needham 1956: 281 and 287. See also Bodde 1981b and 1981e; and Mote 1971: 17-20.

4. The most important early source for Tsou Yen, the Shih-chi 史記, places him in the Chi-hsia 稷下 academy at the time of King Hsüan 宣 of Ch'i (319-301 B.C.). This, along with a reference in the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 太平御覽, led to a traditional fourth-century dating. A recent study by the late Chinese scholar Ch'ien Mu 錢穆 concludes, however, that Tsou Yen was alive at the time of the defeat of Yen in 242 B.C. See the discussion in Graham 1986: 12.

There is in fact little evidence that the "naturalists" ever existed as an independent school. Tsou Yen is the only member of this school whose ideas are recorded in the Shih-chi (chüan 74), and despite the fact that Ssu-ma Ch'ien calls his school the yin-yang chia, surviving fragments of Tsou's work do not contain any mention of "yin-yang." Henderson suggests that by

> consigning numerological speculations and occult ideas to a par-

> ticular classical school, all taint of such ideas could be removed from classical Confucianism and Taoism. One could thus attribute the embarrassing appearance of questionable cosmological conceptions in the postclassical Confucian and Taoist traditions to an extrinsic source. (Henderson 1984: 35)

Four recent views of the early development of Chinese correlative thinking prior to the Han can be found in Rubin 1982; Henderson 1984: 1-14 and 28-46; Graham 1986: 70-92; and Schwartz 1985: 356-378.

5. Needham believes the Hung-fan was not incorporated into the text until the early second century B.C. (1956: 247). See also Schwartz 1985: 366.

6. Translation by Legge 1961: 3.323-326. Graham disagrees with the traditional interpretation of the Hung-fan references to the five phases, and offers an alternative translation in 1986: 77-78.

7. Eberhard 1933, summarized in Needham 1956: 253-261.

8. Summarized in Needham 1956: 262-264.

9. I have limited myself to the briefest overview of five phase cosmology, which I believe sufficient for the purposes at hand. In particular, I have ignored significant differences in the usage of the term wu-hsing in pre-Han materials. I have chosen to focus instead on the clearly cosmological sense of the term as epitomized in the Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu and accepted throughout the medieval period. For a full account see Graham 1986: 70-92.

10. Bodde explains that he uses the word categorical "not in its logical sense of unconditional, absolute, etc., but in the sense of something that is classified or divided" (1981b: 141).

11. Translation follows Mather 1976: 123, with some changes; cf. translation in Needham 1956: 304.

12. See Le Blanc 1978: 224. The Huai-nan-tzu passage closely parallels that of the Chuang-tzu:

> When the lute turner strikes the kung note [on one instrument], the kung note [on the other instrument] responds; when he plucks the chiao note [on one instrument], the chiao note [on the other instrument] vibrates. This results from having corresponding music notes in mutual harmony. (Huai-nan-tzu 6b.9-11; trans. Le Blanc 1978: 222)

Hal Roth (1988) has argued persuasively that the compilers of the Chuang-tzu were the same scholars at the court of Liu An 劉安 (d. 122 B.C.) responsible for the compilation of the Huai-nan-tzu, which may account for the similarities between these two passages.

13. From Ch'i chien 七諫 section of the Ch'u tz'u; translation by Hawkes 1985: 257.

14. Tung's biography is found in chapter 56 of the Ch'ien-han shu 前漢書. As the major representative of the "New Text School" in the Western Han, he has been the subject of many important studies. For an overview of his thought, along with selected translations of his work, see Fung 1953: 7-87; and Chan 1963: 271-288.

15. Translation by Ho and Needham 1959: 189; cf. Chan 1963: 282-283; Needham 1956: 281-282; and Fung 1953: 56.

16. The "six ch'i are mentioned in the Tso-chuan ("Duke Chao" 1, Legge 1961: 5.573 and 581-582), as well as the Chuang-tzu, Kuan-tzu 管子, and the Kuo yü 國語. A full discussion and references can be found in Graham 1986: 70-74.

17. Translation from Needham 1956: 275-276; cf. the translations by Chan 1963: 283-284; and Bodde in Fung 1953: 56.

18. Translation from Needham 1956: 282; cf. Chan 1963: 284.

19. References to the lei sacrifice can be found in the Erh-ya, Li-chi, Chou-li, and Cheng Hsüan's commentaries (see references in Munakata 1983: 129).

20. Such rituals are attested in the oracle-bone record (where they are called ch'ih 赤), and continued down through the medieval period, often being performed by Buddhist monks. On rain-making rituals in China see the important articles by Schafer 1951, and Cohen 1978, as well as the discussions in Needham 1956: 135, and Munakata 1983: 110.

21. See the extended "Wittgensteinian" analysis of li in Fingarette 1972 and Schwartz 1985: 67-75.

22. Discussions of the architecture and function of the ming-t'ang can be found in Maspero 1951; Soothill 1951; Sickman and Soper 1956: 212; Cammann 1961: 43-44; Wheatley 1971: 470-471; Liu 1973; Ledderose 1980; Henderson 1984: 75-82; Major 1984; Wechsler 1985: 195-211; and Forte 1988. The last study by Forte includes a detailed discussion of the relationship between the ming-t'ang built during the reign of the Empress Wu, which housed an astronomical observatory, and the Buddhist "celestial hall" or t'ien-t'ang 天堂 built at the same time. The t'ien-t'ang, which was located to the north of the ming-t'ang, was a grand five-storied pagoda associated with Maitreya and identified as a "Pure Land."

23. Granet 1926: 118, cited in Forte 1988: 25.

24. Translation by Soothill 1951: 25. The Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu, published around 1740, is a work in eight fascicles attributed to Hui Tung

惠棟, the son of the historian and astronomer Hui Shih-ch'i 惠士奇 (A.D. 1670-1741).

25. Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu chüan 13; translation by Bodde in Fung 1953: 48.

26. Translation follows Bodde in Fung 1953: 171-172, with some changes.

27. Chuang-tzu chu 1.6a; trans. Zürcher 1972: 2.91.

28. Mencius 7/A/13; trans. Legge 1961: 2.455. Cf. Chung-yung 中庸 25; trans. Legge 1961: 1.418-419. See the discussion in Eno 1984: 496.

29. This issue is reminiscent of Indian Buddhist debates concerning the status of the Arhat. The so called "five theses" (pañcavastu), attributed in some traditions to Mahâdeva, concern such issues as whether or not an Arhat was subject to nocturnal emissions, was subject to undefiled ignorance (ignorance of the names of persons, clans or trees), subject to doubt, and so on (Lamotte 1988: 274-286; La Vallee Poussin 1910). In both cases the question concerns the degree to which the supermundane achievements of the sage affect his "state of being" within the mundane realm. In other words: just how human is the sage?

30. Shih-shuo hsin-yü 4/57; trans. Mather 1976: 122 (Mather also provides a brief summary of the debate).

31. Mather 1976: 122. See also the discussion in Fung 1953: 187-189. The distinction made by Wang Pi between emotions, which the sage may possess, and attachment, which he may not, is no doubt already influenced by Buddhist epistemology and path theory.

32. HY.1159, f.834-839. This rather simple work, the authorship of which is unknown, is found in the Taoist canon along with an extensive commentary by Li Ch'ang-ling 李昌齡 (fl.1233). Some Sung commentators attributed the work to Ko Hung, author of the Pao-p'u-tzu. Bibliographic information on the Kan-ying ching can be found in Legge 1962: 1.38-40; Balazs and Hervouet eds. 1978: 370-371; Loon 1984: 89; and Boltz 1987: 208 and 328 n.573. I am aware of three English translations: one by Legge under the title "The T'ai Shang Tractate" (Legge 1962: 2.235-246); one by D. T. Suzuki and Paul Carus under the title "Treatise on Response and Retribution" (Suzuki and Carus 1973); and a less reliable translation by Eva Wong entitled "Lao Tzu's Sûtra of Inspiration" (Wong 1988).

33. The connection between the Pao-p'u-tzu and the Kan-ying ching is discussed in Yang Lien-Sheng 1957: 300.

34. Translation mine, from the text reproduced in Suzuki and Carus 1973: 14.

35. Schwartz argues that Needham goes too far in painting Tung Chung-shu as a naturalist, and draws attention to such terms as "mind of heaven"

(t'ien-hsin 天心) and "heavenly intent" (t'ien i 天意) in the Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu. Even in this early period, according to Schwartz, the system of correlative cosmology contained both naturalistic and anthropomorphic elements (1985: 370-372).

36. Among the many studies on Wang Ch'ung see Fung 1953: 150-167; Needham 1962: 368-389; and Chan 1963: 292-304. On Ou-yang Hsiu see Liu 1967: 155-172. For a discussion of an early ninth-century debate on the nature of heaven see Lamont 1973-74.

37. See the Tao-te ching chieh t'i hsü-chüeh i-shu 道德經解題序訣義疏, chüan 4.9b, discussed in Robinet 1977: 140-142.

38. HY.1121, f.763: 10.3a-4b.

39. The explanation of the six stimuli and six responses in the Tao-chiao i-shu (HY.1121, f.763: 10.3b1-4a8) is brief and often obscure. The summary above must be considered tentative.

40. On ko-i see especially T'ang 1950; Wright 1959: 37-38; and Zürcher 1972: 184.

41. See, for example, Lai 1979.

42. Saṃyutta-nikâya 2.120, and cf. Dîgha-nikâya 2.100 and 154.

43. T.639: 15.551b7-13. This corresponds to the second chapter of the Sanskrit manuscript; see the translation in Gomez and Silk 1989: 65, verses 13 and 14.

44. An excellent summary of the doctrine of the Buddha-body can be found in the entry on "Busshin" 佛身 in the Hôbôgirin 2.174-185. See also Nagao 1973; and Suzuki 1930: 308-338.

45. The relevant section is found in T.262: 9.57a23-b21. A full translation can be found in Hurvitz 1976: 314-315.

46. Ksitigarbhapraṇidhânasûtra(?), translated by Śikṣânanda sometime between 695 and 700 (T.412: 13.777c-790a). An English translation can be found in Heng Ching 1974, and a study appears in Visser 1913-14. Fen-shen, "reduplication-bodies" or "emanation-bodies," often occurs as an alternative translation for nirmâṇakâya, as well as âtmabhâva-nirmita. For the latter see especially chapter 11 of the Lotus, T.262: 9.32c25-33a1, and passim.

47. T.262: 9.57a23-25. In translating this passage one is confronted with the full semantic range of the character ying 應, whose primary meaning of "response" or "to respond" yields to a derived usage as the auxiliary verb "ought," "should," "must," and so on. The Chinese formula could be translated: "Should there be beings who require the body of a Buddha in order to attain liberation . . . "

48. This chart is adapted from the Hôbôgirin 2.179-180, and Suzuki 1930: 326.

49. T.1592: 31. 109c22-28; translated by Buddhaśânta in 531. Hsüan-tsang has tzu-hsing-shen 自性身, shou-yung-shen 受用身, and pien-hua-shen 變化身 respectively, and fa-shen 法身 is used rather than fo-shen 佛身 (T.1594: 31.149a18-26). See also the Japanese translation of the latter and the discussion in Nagao 1987: 314-319.

50. T.673: 16.651c2. Translated by Jñânayaśas 闍那耶舍 A.D. 570.

51. T.664: 16.359b-402a. This text was compiled by Pao-kuei 寶貴 in 597, using earlier versions including those by Paramârtha and the joint version by Yaśogupta and Jñânagupta. See also the translation completed in 703 by I-ching 義淨, which was responsible for the popularity of the work in East Asia (T.665: 16.403a-456c). The buddhakâya theory appears in chapter 3 of the first chüan of the Pao-kuei translation entitled San-shen fen-pieh p'in 三身分別品 (T.664: 16.362c11-365b10), the translation of which is ascribed to Paramârtha. The same chapter is also included at the beginning of chüan 2 of the I-ching translation (T.665: 16.408b5-411b16), but is not found in the early translation by Dharmarakṣa (T.663), nor in the extant Sanskrit edition (translated in Emmerick 1970).

52. T.664: 16.363a26-b4. See also the discussions in Hôbôgirin 2.180-181; MZ 1.335a; and Suzuki 1930: 311-314.

53. From the I-ching translation. Missing in Pao-kuei.

54. 身見衆生怖畏歡喜故. This phrase is not altogether clear. The corresponding phrase in the I-ching translation begins with 爲除 "In order to eliminate the . . ."

55. 如來相應如如如如智願力故; cf. I-ching who has 如實相應如如如如智 本願力故.

56. T.664: 16.362c22-363a3; cf. T.665: 16.408b15-26; and Suzuki 1930: 311-312.

57. For Shan-tao's handling of this problem see the discussion in Seah 1975: 337-340. Shan-tao was aware that both pao and ying had been used to stand for the Sanskrit saṃbhogakâya, but he "either ignored or was ignorant of the fact that ying also was employed to translate the term nirmâṇakâya" (Seah 1975: 340).

58. This essay constitutes chüan 114 of the Wei-shu, and is reproduced in chüan 2 of the Kuang-hung-ming chi 廣弘明集 (compiled by Tao-hsüan 道宣 in 664, T. 2103: 52). There is a rather unsatisfactory translation of the Buddhist section of the treatise by Ware (1933), and an English translation of Tsukamoto's Japanese translation by Hurvitz (1956). I have used the Chinese text of the Wei-shu reproduced in Hurvitz 1956.

59. The Kuang-hung-ming chi text omits 法身.

60. Text in Hurvitz 1956: 41-42; translation follows Hurvitz with some changes.

61. T.1666: 32.575-83 (Śraddhotpâdaśâstra?). Translated into English by Hakeda (1967). Major Chinese commentaries include those by Ching-ying Hui-yüan 淨影慧遠 (523-592), T.1843: 44.175-201; Wonkyo 元曉 (617-686), T.1844: 44.202-26; and Fa-tsang (643-712), T.1846: 44.240-287. Western language studies on the origins of this text include Demiéville 1973e; Liebenthal 1958; Lai 1980; and Grosnick 1983 and 1989. (Ingenious as they are, I consider Grosnick's argument's for the Indian authorship of the Awakening of Faith to be unnecessarily convoluted and circular. The Indian Buddhist scholastic corpus is sufficiently vast to allow one to find analogues to virtually any Chinese attempt at scholastic systematization. But why need we assume that the t'i-hsiang-yung distinction found in the Awakening of Faith need have been adapted from prior materials in the first place? Grosnick never justifies this larger methodological assumption.)

I have consulted the second "redaction" by Śikṣânanda (T.1667; completed in 700) as a "commentary" in my translations below.

62. See also the Japanese translation by Ui (1936: 46-55); and the English translation by Hakeda (1967: 63-72). A translation of the last section also appears in Suzuki 1930: 335-338.

63. P.2690, P.2287, S.2074, T.2818: 85. See the edition, translation, and study in Pachow 1979.

64. T.945: 19.106b12-19; cf. the Japanese translation by Araki (1986: 5-6); and the somewhat free English translation by Luk (1966: 1).

The full title of this text is the Ta fo-ting ju-lai mi-yin hsiu-cheng liao-i chu p'u-sa wan hsing shou-leng-yen ching 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經. Although tradition ascribes the translation to Pâramiti 般剌蜜帝 and others, it is now recognized to be a native Chinese composition. The first Chinese catalogue in which the sûtra appears is the Kai-yüan shih-chiao lu 開元釋教錄 of 730 (T.2152: 55.571c), and it is known to have been brought to Japan by the mid-eighth century (Demieville 1952: 43-45; Tsuchida 1986: 14-15). An examination of internal evidence corroborates a proposed early T'ang dating.

Despite occasional doubts as to its authenticity, the Shou-leng-yen ching became one of the most popular Buddhist scriptures in China, and was particularly influential within the Ch'an tradition. Demiéville has a short but excellent discussion of this scripture in his Le concile de Lhasa (1952: 43-52 n.3), and the first four fascicles have recently been translated into Japanese by Araki (1986). See also the occasionally unreliable study by Tsuchida (1986).

65. On the cult of the arhats in China see especially Visser 1923, and Fong 1958. Fong discusses an Indian tradition according to which four of the major arhats (Mahâkâśyapa, Kuṇḍopadhânîya, Piṇḍola, and Râhula) were instructed by the Buddha to postpone their nirvâṇa and remain in the world until the advent of the next Buddha (Fong 1958: 25-26, 31-35). This tradition, unknown in the Pali canon, is nevertheless recorded in two Chinese âgama collections: the translation of the Ekottara-âgama by Gautama Saṃghadeva (T.125: 2.789a), and the Eastern Chin translation of the Śâriputrapariprcchâ (T.1465: 24.902a). It is also found in the Mi-le hsia-sheng ching 彌勒下生經 (T.453: 14.422b), purportedly translated by Dharmarakṣa, though the original text was lost by the eighth century, and the current work appears to be lifted directly from the Ekottara-âgama mentioned above (Fong 1958: 31-32). Fong dates this legend to the first or second century A.D. The legend of the four great arhats eventually gave way to the more "Mahâyânist" tradition of sixteen arhats who are full-fledged "protectors of the law." The single most important source for the latter tradition is the Ta a-lo-han nan-t'i-mi-to-lo so-shuo fa-chu chi 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記 (T.2030: 49), translated by Hsüan-tsang in 654. For a study and French translation of this work see Levi and Chavannes 1916.

66. Zürcher has already undertaken a number of studies concerning the Six Dynasties fusion of Indian Buddhist and native Chinese ideals (see especially Zürcher 1972, 1980, 1981, and 1982b). I will attempt no more than the briefest overview of this period, focusing on the cosmology of "resonant-response."

67. Recorded in the Kao-seng chuan, T.2059: 50.349b2-6. The translation follows Zürcher (1972: 122) with some changes. The quote at the end of the passage is from the Analects 17:19. For a full discussion see Zürcher 1972: 120 ff.

68. Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi 出三藏記集, T.2145: 55.55b22-25 and 56a2-9. Translation follows Zürcher (1972: 125-126) with some changes.

69. Kuang hung-ming chi 廣弘明集, T.2103: 52.196a18-21; trans. Zürcher 1972: 179.

70. This text appears in the Hung-ming chi, T.2102: 52.9b-16a. It has been translated into Japanese in Makita ed. 1973-75: 2.81-143. A partial English translation can be found in Liebenthal 1952: 378-394. Also see the discussions in Zürcher 1972: 218-219; and T'ang Yung-t'ung 1955: 422.

71. T.2102: 52.13a23-27; cf. Makita ed. 1973-75: 2.114-115. I cannot agree with Makita, who understands the "unity of the tao and virtue" as referring to the sage 聖, and the "duality of tao and virtue" as referring to the Buddha. Nor can I make sense of the English rendition by Munakata (1983: 118-119), which suffers from a host of unwarranted interpolations and an admittedly animistic understanding of the term shen 神. The passage by Tsung Ping presents the Buddha as possessing two

aspects -- a unified aspect (his virtue or power) from which perspective the Buddha is understood as quiescent and inactive ("one with the Tao"), and a dualistic aspect (his spirit) through which the Buddha principle becomes active and manifests in the world of change.

72. Chu wei-mo-chieh ching 註維摩詰經, T.1775: 38.334b15-27. This commentary, which also contains comments by Kumârajîva, Tao-sheng 道生, and others, was composed between 406 and 414. See the discussion in Chappell 1977: 27-28.

73. This is more of a paraphrase than a quote from Vimalakîrti-sûtra T.475: 14.555a1-27.

74. See the Fang-kuang ching 放光經 (the Mokṣala translation of the Pañcaviṃśatisâhasrikâprajñâpâramitâ), T.221: 8.145a12.

75. T.1858: 45.158b18-26; cf. the Japanese translation in Tsukamoto ed. 1955: 1.66; the rather unsatisfactory English translations in Chang 1974: 256-257, and Liebenthal 1968: 110-111; and the discussion in Matsunaga 1969: 106-107.

76. This line could also be read, "There is no distinction between [prajñâ] and that with which it comes into contact 所以會而不差."

77. T.1858: 45.153b2-4 and 153c11-14; cf. Tsukamoto ed. 1955: 24; Robinson 1976: 214 and 216; and Liebenthal 1968: 67 and 72.

78. T.412: 13; see especially chapter 12 (787b-789a), though references are found throughout.

79. The full Sanskrit title is Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhâvasthita-samâdhi-sûtra. There are four extant Chinese versions found in volume 13 of the Taishô edition of the Chinese canon:

a: T.418, the Pan-chou san-mei ching 般舟三昧經 in three chüan, is attributed to Lokakṣema. Harrison's long analysis of the two surviving recensions of this text conclude that it was originally a work of Lokakṣema, now extant in two redactions. One, which survives in the Korean canon and was the basis for the Taishô text, can be considered closer to the "original," while the redaction preserved in the Sung, Yüan, and Ming canons has undergone modification by a later hand, primarily a re-translation of many of the gâthâs (Harrison 1979: 200-230).

b: T.419, the Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching 拔陂菩薩經 in one chüan, is an early translation -- probably later Han -- whose authorship is unknown. This text corresponds roughly with the first four p'in of T.418, and the first six chapters of the Tibetan text (Harrison 1979: 197-198).

c: T.417, the Pan-chou san-mei ching in one chüan, is also attributed

to Lokakṣema. According to Harrison, this redaction is "undoubtedly an anonymous abridgement of [the Sung, Yüan, and Ming redaction of T.418] into which a long versified passage has been interpolated" (Harrison 1978: 41). The terminology of the text indicates that it was compiled around the time of of Dharmarakṣa (c. 300) or thereafter (Harrison 1979: 234). This text was accorded a high place in the transmission of the sûtra throughout China and Japan.

d: T.416, the Ta-fang-teng ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen 大方等大集經賢護分 in five chüan, was translated by Jñânagupta et al. in the years 594-595.

See Harrison 1979: 188-252 (and the summary in 1978: 40-41) for a complete discussion of the four versions of the sûtra. Harrison's study includes a translation of the Tibetan recension of the text, as well as comparisons of the various Chinese translations.

80. T.416: 13.874b9-21; cf. the Lokakṣema translation: T.418: 13.904a. The corresponding passage in the Tibetan reads:

> Which samâdhi is it whereby they become those who see the Buddha-fields of Buddhas and Lords resident in other world-spheres, and hear the Dharma, retaining it and not forgetting it -- without it being [due to the operation of] the five super-knowledges, and without it being [due to the operation of] the six super-knowledges, and without those bodhisattvas being in those Buddha-fields after passing away from this world-sphere -- whereby those bodhisattvas, while staying in this very world-sphere, see the Buddhas and hear the Dharma, and retain it all, so that just as I am free of any doubt or uncertainty as I stand in the Lord's presence now, so too those bodhisattvas will never be deprived of the sight of the Buddhas or the hearing of the Dharma, even in their dreams? (Harrison 1979: 20)

81. See T.416: 13.875c27-876a6. For the Tibetan see Harrison 1978: 43 and 1979: 29-30. Although this text specifically mentions Amitâyus as the Buddha with whom one comes "face-to-face," the text indicates that Amitâyus functions as a model, and other Buddhas or groups of Buddhas can be visualized in the same manner (Harrison 1978: 43).

82. T.416: 13.877b1-8. For the Tibetan see Harrison 1978: 46, and 1989: 37. The section following the ※ appears only in the Chinese versions.

83. See for example chapter 14 of the Kumârajîva translation of the Lotus Sûtra (An-lo hsing p'in 安樂行品): "This scripture is blessed by the supernatural power of all Buddhas, past, present, and future 此經是一切過去未來現在諸佛神力所護" (T.262: 9.38c18-19).

84. The kuan-ching texts consist of the following six scriptures:

a: Sûtra on the Samâdhi Contemplation of the Ocean-Like Buddha (Kuan-fo san-mei hai ching 觀佛三昧海經), translated in 420-423 by Buddhabhadra (T.643: 15.645c-697a).

b: The Sûtra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life (Fo-shuo kuan wu-liang-shou-fo ching 佛說觀無量壽佛經), the translation of which is attributed to Kâlayaśas in 424-442 (T.365: 12.340c-346b). English translations can be found in Takakusu 1894, and Yamada ed. 1984.

c: Sûtra on the Methods of Practicing the Contemplation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Fo-shuo kuan p'u-hsien p'u-sa hsing-fa ching 佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經), translated in 424-442 by Dharmamitra (T.277: 9.389b-394b). English translation by Katô et al. 1975: 347-370.

d: Sûtra of Contemplation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya's Ascent to Birth in Tusita Heaven (Kuan mi-le p'u-sa shang-sheng tou-shuai-t'ien ching 觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經), translated in 455 by Chü-ch'ü Ching-sheng (T.452: 14.418b-420c).

e: Sûtra of Contemplation on the Bodhisattva Akaśagarbha (Kuan hsü-k'ung-tsang p'u-sa ching 觀虛空藏菩薩經), translated in 424-441 by Dharmamitra (T.409: 13.677b-680c).

f: Sûtra of Contemplation on the Two Bodhisattvas, Medicine King and Superior Medicine (Kuan yao-wang yao-shang erh p'u-sa ching 觀藥王藥上二菩薩經), translated in 424-442 by Kâlayaśas (T.1161: 20.660a-666b). English translation by Birnbaum 1979: 115-148.

These texts have been grouped together by scholars on the basis of similarities in both form and content. They all appeared in China in the late fourth to early fifth centuries, all share similar titles, and all describe similar practices revolving around the contemplation of individual Buddhas and bodhisattvas and the recitation of their names. Their authenticity has been questioned, and most, if not all of them, are now believed to have originated in Central Asia or China. See especially the studies by Tsukinowa 1971: 43-173; and Fujita 1969 and 1985. English treatments may be found in Soper 1959: 144 ff. and passim; Pas 1977; Birnbaum 1979: 35-48; Yamada ed. 1984: xi-xxxiv; and Fujita 1990.

85. See Kûkai's Benkenmitsu nikyô ron 辯顯密二教論 (Kûkai 1910b), and the discussion in Hakeda 1972: 61-76.

86. For English translations of the corresponding passages in the Tibetan see Lamotte 1976: 39 and 83. See also the note on the Buddhology of the Vimalakîrti, Lamotte 1976: 39.

87. T.639: 15.551b7-13; this corresponds to the second chapter of the Sanskrit manuscript.

88. See the passage from Kûkai's Sokushin jôbutsu 即身成佛 cited below. The contemporary Shingon scholar Toganoô repeats the identification. He comments that kaji, which is explained in Chinese commentaries as chia-p'i 加被 or the power bestowed by the Buddha and shou-ch'ih 受持 or the recipient's ability to receive and maintain such power, is the same as the interactive process of kan-ying (kan-ying tao-chiao 感應道交) accomplished through the power of contemplation (kuan-nien 觀念). See Toganoô 1982b: 151.

89. I do not want to argue that the Chinese failed to distinguish between subjective perception (which is liable to error), and "objective facts." Clearly, as biological creatures, we are provided with ample occasion to experience epistemic error -- the disjunction between what we think is the case and what "really is" the case. Indeed, major Chinese philosophical and political theories such as the "rectification of names" (cheng ming 正名, in which the designated term for an entity was brought into accord with its real nature) were predicated upon some version of just this dichotomy. I only want to suggest that the Chinese distinction is not our contemporary Cartesian one.

Wallace Matson, in his article "Why Isn't the Mind-Body Problem Ancient?" (Matson: 1966), has argued that while the Greeks did distinguish between the soul and the body, the Cartesian understanding of "mind," which incorporates "raw sensory input," would be subsumed under the Greek category of "body." This argument is an interesting illustration of the fact that, even in the West, the seemingly self-evident distinction we draw between mind and matter is of relatively recent provenance.

90. The structure of Hansen's provocative argument is as follows: 1) After introducing the linguistic distinction between mass-nouns and count-nouns he shows that 2) the Platonic distinction between universals and particulars which is the foundation for all classical Western metaphysics is predicated upon an analysis of terms which belong to the class of count-nouns. 3) Thinking metaphysically with count-nouns leads to very different metaphysical intuitions than thinking in terms of mass-nouns. 4) An analysis of ancient Chinese syntax reveals that the language only possessed mass nouns, and was thus incapable of generating the universal-particular distinction. See chapters 1 and 2 in Hansen 1983.

91. The Oxford English Dictionary (1.151-152) definition of "affect" includes the following: "the way in which one is affected or disposed; mental state, mood, feeling . . . to do something to . . . to be drawn to, have affection or liking for . . . act on, influence . . . to lay hold of, impress, or act upon (in mind or feelings); to influence, move, touch . . . to make a material impression on . . . have an effect on."

92. This work is partially extant in ZZ.74.1a-103d. Of the original 10 chüan the first, third and fourth are now lost. Chün-cheng, whose life spanned the end of the Sui and early T'ang, was a San-lun master whose

thought conformed closely to that of Chi-tsang. See Ono 1932-36: 7.307d-308a.

93. The term miao takes on particular importance in T'ien-t'ai thought because of its place in the Chinese translation of the title of the Lotus Sûtra, the Miao-fa lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華經. The "wonders" are divided into three groups of ten, under the general headings "contemplating the mind" (kuan-hsin 觀心), "fundamental teachings" (pen-men 本門, referring to the teachings in the last half of the Lotus), and "historical traces" (chi-men 迹門, referring to the teachings of the first half of the Lotus). The kan-ying miao falls under the last category. For a complete list of the thirty miao see Swanson 1989: 136-147. See also the comments on kan-ying in the Fa-hua wen chü ki 法華文句記 by Chan-jan, T.1719: 34.154c-155a.

94. The four phases are (1) hidden capacity and hidden response 冥機冥應; (2) hidden capacity and manifest response 冥機顯應; (3) manifest capacity and manifest response 顯機顯應; and (4) manifest capacity and hidden response 顯機冥應 (T.1716: 33.748b10-24; see Swanson 1989: 319 n. 330).

95. See the full description in T.1716: 33.748b28-c9.

96. This refers to the twenty-five realms of existence including stages of samâdhi. For a full elaboration see T.1716: 33.748c17 ff. An English translation of the list can be found in Hurvitz 1980: 339-342.

97. T.1716: 33.697c15-19; cf. the English translation in Swanson 1989: 207-208.

98. See for example the Ta-ming san-ts'ang fa-shu 大明三藏法數, a Ming work compiled by I-ju 一如 in 1419:

> Kan [refers to the activity of] sentient beings, while response [is the activity of] Buddha. Sentient beings are able to affect the Buddha by means of perfect impetus and Buddhas are able to respond to them with the marvel of response. It is like the one moon reflecting on water everywhere, without the water rising from below, or the moon falling from above. 感即衆生 應即佛也 謂衆生能以圓機感佛 佛即以妙應應之 如水不上升 月不下降 而一月普現衆水. (Cited in MH 4.1132)

99. Kûkai 1910a: 1.516; cf. the Japanese translation and commentary in Nasu 1980: 150 ff.; and English translation in Hakeda 1972: 232.

100. 6.1; trans. Morrell 1985: 183, with minor changes.

101. T.1941: 46.949c13-15; cf. Stevenson 1987: 472, where he translates the last phrase: "he will be unable to effect any [flow of divine] responses."

102. T.1911: 46.92a5-9. Translation follows Stevenson (1987: 410) with some changes.

103. Chi originally referred to the spring-trigger mechanism on a crossbow, from which can be traced a host of derived meanings, including "mechanism," "trigger," "spring," "pivotal moment or event," "fundamental power," "change," "opportunity," "potentiality," and so on (MH 6.555).

104. See also the discussion in Fukushima 1979: 40-41.

105. See T.475: 14.544b: "It is as if an elder has only one son; when the son becomes ill the parents also become ill. If the child recovers from that illness the parents also recover. In the same way, bodhisattvas love all beings as if they were their own children. When the beings are ill, the bodhisattvas are also ill, and when the beings recover, the bodhisattvas also recover."

106. See T.375: 12.724a24-27, translated in Donner 1976: 178: "It is like a man with seven children, among whom one falls ill. Though the father's and mother's feelings [toward the children] are not unequal, they are nevertheless especially partial to their sick child. Great King, the Tathâgata is like this. Though [his feelings] toward living beings are not unequal, he is nevertheless especially partial toward sinners 罪者."

107. These are the fifth and fourth of five practices given in the Nirvâṇa-sûtra. See Donner 1976: 178 n.52.

108. According to Donner, this passage is not found in any of the Ch'an ching (1976: 179)

109. T.1911: 46.4c; cf. translation in Donner 1976: 107-108. The Mo-ho chih-kuan goes on to define the meaning of receptivity and response in terms of the four siddhântas (ssu hsi-t'an 四悉檀, see below).

110. On the four siddhântas see MZ 2.1786c-1788a; and Swanson 1989: 23-30.

111. The relevant passage in the Lotus runs as follows:

> The Buddhas, the World-Honored Ones, for one great cause alone appear in the world. Śâriputra, what do I mean by "The Buddhas, the World-Honored Ones, for one great cause alone appear in the world?" The Buddhas, the World-Honored Ones, appear in the world because they wish to cause the beings to hear of the Buddha's knowledge and insight and thus enable them to gain purity. They appear in the world because they wish to demonstrate the Buddha's knowledge and insight to the beings. They appear in the world because they wish to cause the beings to understand. They appear in the world because they wish to cause the beings to enter into the

path of the Buddha's knowledge and insight. Śâriputra, this is the one great cause for which the Buddhas appear in the world. (T. 262: 9.7a; translation from Hurvitz 1976: 30)

PART TWO

THE *TREASURE STORE TREATISE*: TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

The Text and Translation

The Taishô edition used for the current translation was compiled on the basis of two woodblock editions: (1) the text contained in the Leng-yen temple edition of the Chinese canon (Leng-yen-ssu pan 楞嚴寺版, commonly known as the Wan-li edition 萬曆版), which was in the possession of Zôjôji 增上寺 in Tokyo and is dated the twenty-second year of the Wan-li period (1594); and (2) a printed Japanese edition belonging to the library of Shûkyô University 宗教大學, dated the fifth year of the Hôei 寶永 period (1708). The differences between the two editions are few and of little significance.[1] The Taishô version is itself virtually identical to the editions found in the _Shukusatsu zôkyô_ 縮刷藏經 (32.1.1a-5b), and the _Zokuzôkyô_ 續藏經 (ZZ.96.23c-30b), which is not surprising, as both are based in turn on the Wan-li edition. In any case, we have every reason to believe that the text of the _PTL_ which has come down to us today remains very close to its original form. There is no evidence of missing sections or later accretions, and all quotations from the _PTL_ found in later T'ang and Sung materials closely match the corresponding passages in the extant recension. The fact that the _PTL_ is comprised of three well-integrated chapters of roughly equal length, and that the text closes with a summary and conclusion mentioning each chapter by name, strongly suggests that it was originally composed as a whole, rather than being pieced together from a number of shorter works.

The _PTL_ belongs to a loosely defined genre of Chinese literature known as _lun_ 論 ("essay" or "disquisition") -- a genre which affords the author a great deal of latitude in matters of compositional structure and style. Early Chinese literary critics agree that the _lun_ should be "fine and subtle" (_ching wei_ 精微), and "logical" (or "reasonable," _li_

理), but offer little more.[2] As I suggested in chapter 1, the PTL appears to have been composed somewhat self-consciously in the style of Buddhist treatises of the Six Dynasties period, evoking the "mystical" tone of hsüan-hsüeh writers like Wang Pi, as well as early Chinese Buddhist exegetes such as Seng-chao. There are copious allusions to the works which fascinated hsüan-hsüeh authors, notably the Tao-te ching and the Chuang-tzu. In addition, the PTL makes liberal use of parallelism, including metrical, grammatical (lexical and syntactic), and phonic parallel constructions. In other words, the PTL employs all the varieties of parallelism characteristic of p'ien-t'i wen 駢體文, or "parallel prose." Furthermore, like p'ien-t'i wen, the PTL abounds in puns, rhymes, assonance, alliteration, and other euphonic devices.[3] Such devices seem designed, at least in part, to display the author's erudition and literary virtuosity. However, the parallelism of the PTL is not as rigidly controlled as in compositions in the p'ien-t'i wen style, and, unlike the latter, the length of the parallel phrases in the PTL remain unvaried -- the vast majority consist of four characters. This frequently results in an imposing thumpity-thump which might well seem tiresome, if not cloying, to admirers of p'ien-t'i wen.

The monotony of the parallel four-character phrases is broken by the occasional transitional particle such as fu 夫 (marking a change in topic), ku 故 ("therefore"), and shih-i 是以 ("hence"). The overall effect of the four-character phrasing is reminiscent of a genre of verse associated with early Ch'an, represented by such works as the Hsin-wang ming 心王銘, the Hsin-ming 心銘, and the Hsin-hsin ming 信心銘.[4] By the Sui and T'ang, the relatively archaic four-character verse had fallen out of fashion, having been replaced by verse in lines of five or seven characters. The dominant use of four-character phrasing in the PTL gives the text an antiquated yet dignified tone, lending it an authority associated with age. It also renders the task of translation particularly difficult, as the short phrases are frequently strung together with few, if any, connective particles.

The PTL alludes to a wide variety of works, not only through the use of readily identifiable terminology and figures, but also through the imitation of syntactic forms, as seen in the very opening lines. As the text progresses, there is an increased use of scriptural quotation to punctuate and substantiate the argument. Most of the identifiable quotations are culled from Buddhist sûtras popular in eighth-century China, although the sources are never explicitly named. The concise and laconic compositional style, the frequent use of parallel four-character phrases without connectives, and the many allusions to a variety of works, results in an immensely complex and multi-layered text which is, at times, almost impenetrable.

In translating the text I have adopted a "principle of charity" -- in other words, I assume the PTL to be, on some level, meaningful, coherent, rational, and consistent. As such, my task is to make the text make sense. One might offer an aesthetic or moral defense for this stance, but I prefer a functional one -- it is simply unavoidable. We must presume coherence in the cultural systems and the social products we examine, since incoherence is, in a word, incoherent. At the same time, there is no avoiding the difficulties encountered in the attempt to uncover the context in which coherence must be situated.

This raises a host of hermeneutic issues which I will resist exploring here. I certainly do not intend to minimize the philosophical problems entailed in the issues of "coherence," "rationality," and "consistency," particularly when applied to cultures other than our own. Nor am I advocating an undisciplined or uncritical reading of literary texts -- we must bring the full philological and historical apparatus to bear upon our reading of classical documents. In so doing, we may find that the criteria for coherence displayed in the documents under examination are quite different from those which we have been conditioned to expect and value within our own tradition. Indeed, as has often been noted, the Chinese do not always place as much value as ourselves upon logical rigor in the strict Aristotelian or syllogistic sense. And the

Chinese might appreciate the literary elegance and persuasive force of an "argument by analogy" which we would condemn as spurious or sophistic.

In a similar vein, we must remember that not every statement in a Chinese essay or lun is meant to be an assertion, whether ethical, soteriological, or philosophical. Language functions in many ways, not all of which are pleasing to logicians. Robinson, in his comparative study of Indian and Chinese Mâdhyamika materials, has characterized the rhetorical mode dominant in Chinese San-lun materials as "persuasive," as opposed to the "demonstrative" mode more typical of Indian Mâdhyamika works:

> The rhetorical structure of Mâdhyamika works is varied and elaborate. Certain figures are common to most texts of the school -- for instance, simile and oxymoron. Certain other features are not found in demonstrative texts but occur frequently in persuasive texts, for example, metaphor, climax, and double entendre. The latter in particular was highly developed by Chinese Buddhists in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The principle is part of the doctrine of upâya (skillful means); the sûtras say that the Buddha spoke with one voice (sound), and each hearer understood whatever it was appropriate for him to understand. The principle was also esteemed by Six Dynasties litterateurs, who relished systematic multivalence not only in poetry but in prose. The skillful Buddhist essayist could at once gain entree to literary circles and cast unwelcome ideas in a welcome form by contriving his essay so that it would seem Taoist to the Taoist, Buddhist to those who understood, and aesthetically pleasing to everyone. (Robinson 1976: 17)

The PTL is clearly a "persuasive" text in Robinson's sense of the term. It is written in the compendious and highly textured literary style, dense with allusion, which was esteemed by educated Chinese irrespective of their doctrinal affiliation. The overall effect is to affirm the aesthetic, moral, and philosophical values of the literati class, while yet implying that those very values are subsumed within the Buddhist teachings. More specifically, the "Buddhist teachings" espoused by the PTL are, as we have seen, clearly influenced by the ideological developments associated with early Ch'an. At the same time,

the Buddhist appropriation of the aesthetic and moral values of the literati played an important role in the evolution of Ch'an doctrine and literature, and was in large part responsible for its eventual success in medieval China. The process is thus dialectical -- on the one hand, the "Ch'annish" manipulation and extension of the upâya doctrine allowed educated Buddhist monks to freely appropriate the best of the non-Buddhist classical tradition in China. On the other hand, the resulting large-scale appropriation of Chinese values, Chinese rhetorical modes, and Chinese literary conventions, profoundly influenced the evolution of Ch'an doctrine, Ch'an rhetoric, and Ch'an literary forms.

Bakhtin provides a conceptual structure and terminology which aptly captures the tendency to affirm tradition on the one hand, and assail and transform it on the other. He refers to two major and somewhat opposing forces -- the centripetal and the centrifugal -- operative in literary texts. The centripetal forces are those which

> serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world. Unitary language constitutes the theoretical expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language. A unitary language is not something given but is always in essence posited. (Bakhtin 1981: 270)

The urge towards verbal-ideological unity is manifest in virtually all Chinese Buddhist exegesis, and lies behind the process loosely known as "sinification." The tendency to recast Indian Buddhist doctrine in the language and terminology of the Confucian canon -- the use of words such as "way" (tao 道), "gateway" (men 門), "awakening" (chüeh 覺), "principle" (li 理), "nature" (hsing 性), and so on -- frames the controversies between Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist, as an ongoing dispute over competing descriptions of the same world, rather than as a struggle between rival conceptions of different and ultimately incompatible worlds. The debates themselves act as a force contributing towards a unified "Chinese" view of the cosmos and man's place within.

On the other hand, any given text must be placed within a specific context at a particular historical juncture, and in doing so the clearly polemic, sectarian, political, and rebellious forces which work towards the usurpation of the authorial language come into play. These are, to use Bakhtin's terminology, the centrifugal forces, which act to decentralize the verbal-ideological world. But such decentralizing elements are fully co-extensive with the centralizing elements:

> Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance; the utterance not only answers the requirements of its own language as an individualized embodiment of a speech act, but it answers the requirements of heteroglossia as well. (Bakhtin 1981: 272)

The PTL is a particularly apt example of the heteroglossia of which Bakhtin speaks. A variety of genres, styles, canons, and ideologies are at work within the PTL, and the goal of the treatise as a whole is to weave the disparate voices into the appearance of unity, coherence, and meaningfulness. But this goal is by no means ecumenical -- like the p'an-chiao schemes which so characterize Chinese Buddhist ideological agendas, the goal is to appropriate and expropriate competing unifying schemes, specifically those of the gentry-Taoists. Scratch the surface of such "syncretic" texts and one glimpses the beast within. Rhetoric is power, and the hegemonic discourse of materials such as the PTL constitutes a singularly cogent demonstration of the manipulation of such power.

Like most translators of early Chinese materials, I tried to strike a balance between a "literal" translation (which would ideally incorporate significant syntactic as well as lexical aspects of the original), and a fluid and idiomatic English rendering. Such a balance was, however, often impossible to achieve, and when confronted with a choice I chose to err toward the literal. This is not necessarily a virtue in translation, but given the significant historical and philological problems which surround the PTL, I decided to adopt the

more cautious approach. Ultimately, my translation and interpretation of the PTL must be considered provisional pending future research.

Although I tried to maintain single translation equivalents for technical terms, this often proved impossible. Thus chien 見 is sometimes "perception," sometimes "views," sometimes "vision." Whenever possible I used "essential principle" for tsung 宗, "seminal essence" for ching 精, and "essence" for t'i 體, yet there are times when each is translated simply as "essence." And ching is itself occasionally rendered "spectre." These are but a few examples. Such "inconsistencies" in the translation may reflect the simple fact that a single Chinese term often has more than one meaning, but they may also reflect the lack of adequate English equivalents, or my own imperfect understanding of the passage or terminology at hand. In some cases, where my translation differs quite markedly from what might be expected, or in cases where context has forced me to alter in midcourse the translation of a particular technical term, I have inserted the Chinese character in the text of the translation. For the most part, such terminological difficulties are dealt with in my commentary.

There are also words which I occasionally felt best left untranslated, including the "pronoun" ch'i 其 (in cases where there is no clear referent), and the particle fu 夫. The latter I treat as a signal that a new topic is being introduced, a fact which I indicate (or "translate") by a paragraph break. Many such "empty characters" (hsü-tzu 虛字), including erh 而 and yeh 也, have more to do with intonation and euphony than with semantics per se.

The Commentary

We know that a number of Chinese commentaries to the PTL were written in the medieval period. The Hsin-pien chu-tsung chiao-tsang tsung-lu 新編諸宗教藏總録, a Korean catalogue of 1101, mentions a Pao-

tsang-lun chu 寶藏論註 in three fascicles by a Fa-tzu 法滋 (T.2184: 55.1177c3). Yung-ming Yen-shou's 永明延壽 Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡録 mentions a work with an almost identical title -- the Pao-tsang-lun chu 寶藏論注 -- which may in fact refer to the same text by Fa-tzu (T.2016: 48.951c22). And chüan 67 of the T'ung-chih 通志 (dated 1161) makes reference to a Hun-hun tzu 混渾子 in three fascicles, which may also have been a commentary to the PTL; the annotation to the T'ung-chih entry reads: "The authorship [of this text] is unknown; it expounds upon the Fa-tsang lun by the Dharma-teacher Shih [Seng-]chao 不知氏名所 釋肇法師法藏論主義" (Makita 1955: 274). Unfortunately, none of these commentaries are now extant, and the preface to the PTL by Huai-hui 懷暉, reportedly seen by T'ang Yung-t'ung, also appears to have disappeared (see chapter 1 section B).

My own running "commentary" is broken into sections interspersed throughout the translation. The breaks in the translation are determined both by the internal structure of the text, and by matters of expedience. When there is much to be commented upon the text is broken into shorter segments, and when there is little which warrants explication I run several sections of the translation together.

While my commentary ventures into a variety of domains, the focus is on matters pertaining to technical terminology, doctrinal history, and literary style. I also identify, whenever possible, the many allusions to prior materials. The form of the commentary is that favored by Japanese translators of classical Chinese texts -- following occasional general comments bearing on the passage at hand, individual words, phrases, and quotations are selected for special treatment. The more arcane philological notes, such as those concerning textual variants, have been relegated to the endnotes following each of the chapters.

Finally, a word about the quotations found in the PTL. Most of the thirty or so quotations, of which about one third have been identified, are introduced with the phrase: "Therefore the scripture says 故

經云." The quotations are only discussed in the commentary in instances where the source of the quotation is known, or where the content of the quotation itself warrants comment. A complete list of all quotations found in the PTL may be found in the appendix to this study.

Notes to the Introduction to the Translation and Commentary

1. Judging from the date of the latter Japanese edition of the PTL, it probably belonged to the canon edited and printed by Ninchô 忍徵 (d.1711). Ninchô's printing of the Buddhist canon, which he began in 1706, was based on the Obaku edition of 1681 revised in the light of the various Korean editions available to him. The Obaku edition was in turn based on the Wan-li canon. Thus, as one would expect, the two texts of the PTL used by the Taishô compilers were virtually identical: the Taishô notes a total of only eight variants, most of which are either alternate ideographic forms or common and readily identifiable scribal errors.

2. The earliest known Chinese "genre scheme" is credited to Ts'ao P'i 曹丕 (187-226), the poet and critic who ruled as Emperor Wen 文 of the Wei dynasty (r.220-226). His Lun wen 論文 ("Essay on Literature"), which survives in the Wen hsüan 文選, mentions the lun as one of eight different modes of literature. According to Ts'ao P'i, the lun, along with shu 書 ("letters"), should "accord with reason 宜理" (see Hightower 1965a: 143 n.2, who translates "letters and essays should be logical"). Virtually all later Chinese literary critics included the lun in their discussions of distinguished writing. Perhaps the most influential early description of the defining characteristics of a lun is that found in the preface to the Wen hsüan by Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501-531): "Disquisition [lun] is subtle in making logical distinctions 論則析理精微" (trans. Hightower 1965a: 152).

3. On the characteristics of parallel prose see especially Hightower 1965b: 108-118; and Nienhauser ed. 1986: 656-660.

4. All three are preserved in fascicle 30 of the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈録, T.2076: 51.456c25-458a14. See also the discussion of the latter two works in chapter 1 section G.

THE TREASURE STORE TREATISE CHAPTER 1:

THE BROAD ILLUMINATION OF EMPTINESS AND BEING

Introductory Comments: The Title of the Treatise

The "treasure store" (pao-tsang 寶藏) of the title is itself a fine example of the "hyperglossia" -- the complex interplay of voices invoking diverse traditions -- which dominate this work. The term pao ("treasure" 寶) was used in antiquity to refer to the "treasure-objects" held in the possession of a clan or royal household, particularly the royal house of Chou. The earliest such treasures were thought to have been bestowed by mythical animals, and consisted of markings on stones, dragon scales, tortoise shells, and pieces of jade.[1] These treasures, which included bronze tripods, a wide miscellany of heavenly talismans, tablets with sacred ciphers, mysterious diagrams (t'u 圖), and other ritual objects, were the material receptacles for the spiritual numen or ling 靈.

According to the Tso chuan, "the treasures are for the protection of the people 寶以保民也" (Legge 1961: 5.671), a definition which plays on the fact that the Chinese words for "treasure" 寶 and "to protect" 保 are homophones (pao). The discovery of such a treasure was, not surprisingly, trumpeted as a token of heaven's favor -- it constituted tangible evidence of the emperor's virtue and sagely rule. Seidel notes:

> Such treasures guaranteed the ruling family's possession of the mandate. . . . These objects, called pao, "treasures," in ancient China, were not necessarily unique or precious. They were not used in any kind of commercial exchange, and only exceptionally as gifts, but they were kept hidden and their possession had the mystical value of symbolizing a clan's good fortune. In the case of

> the royal family, they constituted the sacra or regalia of the dynasty. . . . Most of the pao were believed to have been miraculously bestowed by Heaven as talismans procuring power and long life. During the Warring States period, ambitious princes became more and more interested in such signs of divine protection, and there developed a science of prognostication and of interpretation of these miraculous objects. (Seidel 1983: 299-300)

Kaltenmark and Seidel have traced the historical origins of the Taoist "revelation texts" to the Han apocrypha (ch'an-wei 讖緯), which were themselves Imperial Treasures or pao. Such texts were "treasures" not only because they contained a message of spiritual potency, but because they themselves were objects of mystical power. Indeed, Taoist scriptures, even more so than their Buddhist counterparts, were considered to be magic talismans, not so much to be studied as to be venerated.[2]

The fascination with heavenly pao continued well into the T'ang period, particularly during the reigns of emperors who took a strong interest in Taoism. The reign of Hsüan-tsung was punctuated by the appearance of a number of such treasures, beginning in the year 713 when a "jade treasure" (yü-pao 玉寶) was discovered after a heavy rain opened up a fissure in the palace grounds. And an epiphany of Lao-tzu in 741 led to the discovery of a jade tablet with red characters, which prompted Hsüan-tsung to change the name of his reign to T'ien-pao 天寶 ("Heavenly Treasure"). His son, Su-tsung 肅宗 (r.766-763), was similarly blessed: in 762 the district governor of Ch'u-chou discovered thirteen "state treasures" (kuo-pao 國寶), comprising a sacred axe, bead, ring, and so on, whereupon the emperor adopted the new reign-title pao-ying 寶應 ("Treasure Response") (Benn 1977: 196-200).

Morohashi cites a number of derived meanings for pao, including shen 神 ("divine"), and tao 道 ("Way"), and further notes the use of the term as a Taoist and Buddhist prefix (MH 1.1114). The term pao was thus a natural choice to render the Sanskrit ratna, which generally means "gem" or "jewel," but which can also mean (as an appositional modifier

or in nominal compounds) "jeweled," or "precious." Indeed, pao appears in innumerable Chinese Buddhist technical compounds, including san-pao 三寶 (triratna, or the "three jewels," i.e., Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha), and pao-yin, or "precious seal," a term which appears in the PTL.[3]

The original meaning of tsang 藏 (pronounced ts'ang when used verbally) was "to store away," "to secret away," "storehouse," "granary," and so on. It was also used, usually in compounds, to refer to the inner body in general, and the internal organs in particular (home of the Taoist divinities). In Chinese translations of Indic materials, tsang appears in the compounds ju-lai tsang 如來藏 (tathâgatagarbha), and san-tsang 三藏 (tripiṭaka). Most significantly, both of these cardinal Buddhist terms refer to repositories for the sacred.

The compound pao-tsang was used figuratively in a wide variety of pre-Han and Han materials to refer to "a vessel or repository for a precious treasure." The pao of pao-tsang clearly refers to the heaven-bestowed treasures -- the confirmations of divine favor -- mentioned above (MH 3.1118). In Buddhist materials, pao-tsang was used analogously to fa-tsang 法藏 or "dharma storehouse," i.e., as a metaphor denoting Buddhist sûtras.[4] But the term acquired a more specialized sense in texts associated with the Ch'an tradition. A paradigmatic example is found in Tsung-mi's Great Commentary to the Perfect Enlightenment Sûtra (Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu 圓覺經大疏):

> The storehouse is the storehouse of the dharma realm of the treasure-nature which is the true suchness which gives rise to the mind of faith. This is the fundamental source of all Buddhas and sentient beings, the natural essence of the radiant light of divine powers. Innumerable meritorious functions are all garnered within, and a hundred thousand penetrating beams of light blazon forth from it. Therefore it is called a storehouse. 藏即寶性法界藏起信心眞如 是諸佛衆生之本源 神通光明之性體 塵沙德用 並蘊其中百千通光皆從斯起 故云藏也. (ZZ.14.124c11-13)

There are also shamanistic overtones to the terms pao and pao-tsang. The "treasure store" is a receptacle for the numinous or ling 靈 -- the heavenly ling infuses the earthly pao.[5] "In heaven it is ling, on earth it is pao; in the mysterious void of heaven it is ling, in the receptacles it is pao" (Kaltenmark 1960: 567-568). The Chinese shaman, like shamans in many cultures, acts as a receptacle for an agent of the divine, and the Taoist term ling-pao refers to both human and material receptacles. Furthermore, in internal alchemy, pao is used in the description of the immortal embryo generated within the body -- the seed of the divine growing within the mortal. It is not surprising that the generation of the immortal embryo should be conflated with the realization of the "womb of Buddhahood" (ju-lai tsang 如來藏).

The specific, though multivalent, usage of the term pao-tsang in later Sung Ch'an materials can be traced in part to the influence of the PTL. The pao-tsang of the PTL, according to later Ch'an yü-lu 語錄 and commentaries to fragments of our text, serves as a metaphor for the "true self" -- the "Buddha-nature" secreted within the human body.[6] Indeed, the phrase from the PTL most often quoted in later Ch'an literature plays with precisely this metaphor: "Within heaven and earth, inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain" (145b23-24). But despite the Buddhist permutations and abstractions, the term pao, occurring in the midst of the exuberant poetics of the PTL, still retains the unmistakable resonance of its Taoist and "shamanistic" meanings.

Translation and Commentary

Text 143b14

The Treasure Store Treatise

Written by the Sramana Shih Seng-chao of Ch'ang-an

Chapter One: The Broad Illumination of Emptiness and Existence

Emptiness that can be deemed empty -- it is not true emptiness. Form that can be deemed form -- it is not true form. True form is without shape; true emptiness without name. That which has no name is the father of [all] names; and that which has no form, the mother of [all] form.[7] *They are the source of the myriad things, and the Great Ancestor of heaven and earth.*

Commentary:

◇ *Emptiness that can be deemed empty -- it is not true emptiness. Form that can be deemed form -- it is not true form* 空可空非眞空 色可色非眞色: The PTL opens with a somewhat blazon Buddhist pastiche of the opening lines to the Tao-te ching: "The Way that can be talked about -- it is not the eternal Way. The Name that can be named -- it is not the eternal Name 道可道非常道 名可名非常名."[8] This echoing of the Tao-te ching would be immediately evident to educated Chinese, and it sets the tone for the interweaving of Taoist and Buddhist voices which dominate the work.

The text unfolds with a cosmogony loosely drawn from a variety of classical sources. The overall tenor of chapter 1 is, however, distinctively Taoist. To begin with, although the details vary, it is characteristic of Taoist scriptures to open with just such a genesis myth. (The myth of the P'eng bird which opens the Chuang-tzu comes to mind.)

Taoists never settled on any single cosmogonic scheme -- not only is there considerable variation between texts, but differing schemes are not infrequently found to coexist within a single scripture. However, most of the cosmogonies are constructed following similar structural principles, derived from chapter 42 of the Tao-te ching, which functioned loosely as a locus classicus for the plethora of later Taoist cosmogonic myths: "The Tao begets one; one begets two; two begets three; three begets the myriad things." Although this schema underlies most later Taoist creation myths, the myths differ in the manner in which they interpret the "one," the "two," the "three," and so on. I will return to this point in my commentary to chapter 3 of the PTL which quotes the above passage from Tao-te ching 42.

The degree to which Taoist scriptures were modeled upon Buddhist archetypes has been well documented.[9] Scriptures of the Ling-pao 靈寶 corpus are particularly striking in their wholesale borrowing of Buddhist stylistic devices -- what Zürcher calls "formal borrowing" (1980: 86). They typically open with an imitation of the nidâna formula found at the beginning of Buddhist sûtras relating the circumstances in which the scripture was preached. The reverse case -- the incorporation of formal Taoist stylistic elements in a Buddhist text, is less common, and may well have contributed to the notoriety of the PTL.

The specific cosmogony of our text, following the model of the Tao-te ching mentioned above, shows the world evolving out of the hidden, undifferentiated Tao. As the cosmogony unfolds we soon discover that the PTL gives little purchase to the Western categories of ontology, epistemology, and ethics -- we shall see that the evolution of the natural order, the social order, and the moral order is but one and the same process.

◇ *Form* (hsing 形): The term is here used in contrast with ming 名. Numerous problems arise in the translation of such terms as hsing, se 色 and ming. I have kept the traditional "emptiness" for k'ung 空, and

"form" for se, as they are the common translation equivalents for the Sanskrit śūnya and rūpa. But hsing is also often best rendered as "form," although "appearance" and "shape" are used in some contexts. Note the appearance of the expression hsing-shan 形山 ("form-mountain") later in this text (145b32-24), which, in subsequent Ch'an commentaries, is interpreted as a metaphor for the body.

◇ *Great Ancestor* (t'ai-tsu 太祖): This term goes back to the early Chinese classics, though by the T'ang "a Great Ancestor was generally thought of as the person who was first enfeoffed with the land or property that became the patrimony of the lineage" (Wechsler 1985: 127). Here the term is clearly an epithet for the Tao, from which everything arises.

Text 143b20

> *Extended above are the mysterious [stellar] schemata and arrayed below lie the courts of darkness. The primordial breath is contained within the great schemata, and the great schemata lie concealed in the formless as the numen which is conscious of things. Within the numen lies spirit, and within spirit lies the body.*

Commentary:

◇ *Mysterious [stellar] schemata* (hsüan-hsiang 玄象): The term hsiang appears as far back as the oracle bones, and evokes the cosmological and metaphysical world view which we examined under the rubric of "sympathetic response" in chapter 3 above. Originally meaning "elephant" (bone inscriptions show its origin to be the image of an elephant) or "ivory," it also came to mean "figure," "to represent," "to depict," "to imitate," "image," "shape," "appearance," "emblem," and so on.[10] Wechsler suggests that it is "in fact, perhaps the closest approximation in pre-modern Chinese for our words 'symbol' or 'symbolize' in the sense of substitution for or representation of physical or

emblematic objects" (1985: 33). Wechsler is influenced by the use of hsiang in the Shih chi 史記, which speaks of the twelve "hsiang of the ancients" 古人之象 which were worn on the robes of the kings: the sun, moon, constellation, mountains, dragons, pheasants, bronze libation cups, water weeds, flames, seeds of grain, ax, and the fu-symbol (a mark of distinction; Wechsler 1985: 33). But the translation "symbol" does not fully capture the significance of these markings. The Yao tien 堯典 chapter of the Shang shu 尚書, one of the oldest surviving works of Chinese literature, refers to the 曆象日月星辰, meaning "to calculate the [movements of the] hsiang: the sun, moon, stars, and constellations." The fact that the monarch wore celestial emblems on his robes indicates the deep interrelationship between the movements of the heavenly bodies and the ritual activity of the king. This was but one aspect of what Schafer has called the "theory of correspondences":[11]

> The crucial word here is hsiang: (1) effigy, simulacrum, (as a painted image); (2) analogue, counterpart, equivalent, other-identity. Celestial events are the "counterparts" or "simulacra" of terrestrial events; sky things have doppelgängers below, with which they are closely attuned.
>
> In the sky are formed counterparts 象;
> On the earth are formed contours 形.[12]
>
> This poetic statement of the T'ang period was expressed more fully this way: "The germinal essences of the Myriad Creatures in every case have counterparts up in the sky, and form shapes (contours) under the sky."[13] "Correspondence" has been defined as the relationship between the cosmic and political realms, or the natural and human worlds, or between macrocosm and microcosm, with the Son of Heaven as a critical nexus between them all, dedicated to maintaining the exactness of the correspondences by proper ritual observances. (Schafer 1977: 55-56)

Hsiang were at one and the same time the natural schemata found in the heavens (manifest as the stars and constellations, and also their earthly representations). The Ta chuan 大傳 commentary to the I ching (part 1, chapter 8), is most explicit:

> The holy sages were able to survey all the confused diversities under heaven. They observed forms and phenomena, and made representations of things and their attributes. These were called Images 象. (Honda 1978: 2.277; trans. Wilhelm 1967: 304)

The images of the I ching are representations (hsiang 像, etymologically related to the homophone 象) of the patterns in heaven. This notion of "correspondences" is at work throughout the first chapter of the PTL, and is crucial for an understanding of terms such as ying 應 or "resonance" discussed in chapter 3. The compound which appears here, hsüan-hsiang 玄象, the "mysterious schemata" found [in the heavens] above, "was used regularly in medieval literature to refer to the stars and asterisms thought of as harmonized with earthly creatures and institutions" (Schafer 1977: 5-6), and hsüan-hsiang is used in the Chao-lun to refer somewhat generically to the luminous heavenly bodies.[14] But these schemata have their counterparts in the diagrams of the I-ching and in various other schemata found at different levels in the hierarchy of cosmic spheres. It would seem to be this inclusive use of the term, as found in the Tao-te ching, which is intended by our text.

The term hsiang occurs in Tao-te ching 14, where it is used as part of an epithet for the Tao itself: "It returns to that devoid of substance. This is called the shape without shape, the schemata without substance 無物之象." Again, in chapter 21 we find: "Indistinct and dim, yet within lies the schemata 其中有象." Both passages suggest that for the Tao-te ching the hsiang share the same ontological primacy as does the Tao. Schafer would seem to be correct when he objects to the use of "symbol" as an equivalent for hsiang, and suggests instead "simulacrum," "counterpart," "analogue," and so on, since the hsiang are in themselves devoid of substance and form (Schafer 1977: 5 and 292 n.8). Their ontological status is similar to that of li 理 or "principle" -- they are underlying structures which configure manifest phenomena into coherent patterns. I translate hsiang as "schemata" in an attempt to capture this broad sense of the term, but in narrower contexts I substitute "image."[15]

◇ *Courts of darkness* (ming-t'ing 冥庭): I am unable to locate this term elsewhere, though ming is commonly associated with the underworld -- the realm of the dead. "Courts of darkness" is probably an allusion

to the courts of the Kings of Hell, which lie on the lowest strata of this world system.

◇ *Primordial breath* (yüan-ch'i 元氣): This concept goes back to the Han shu 漢書, where it refers to the original breath which gave birth to heaven and earth.[16] T'ang Taoist meditation practices were based upon an elaborate theory of multiple breaths, including the "interior breath" (nei-ch'i 內氣), originating in the depths of the lower cinnabar field, which stood in opposition to the coarse and profane "exterior breath" (wai-ch'i 外氣). This interior breath is identified with the "primordial breath" -- the creative principle of the universe itself -- thereby establishing yet another homology between man and the cosmos. The object of the Taoist practice known as the "circulation of the breaths" was the control, conservation, and full circulation of this interior breath throughout the body, taking care that it is never allowed to mingle with the external breath.[17] The Yüan-ch'i lun 元氣論, a text roughly contemporary with the PTL, states:[18]

> In being born man receives the primordial breath of heaven and earth which becomes his spirit and his form. He receives the breath of the Original One 元一, which becomes his saliva and his essence. . .
>
> The primordial breath is the source of the living breath; it is the breath in movement between the kidneys; this is the foundation of the five viscera, the root of the twelve arteries, the door of exhalation and inhalation, the source of the Three Burning Spaces. This breath is man's root. If the root is cut, the viscera, the receptacles, the nerves, and the arteries are like the branches and leaves; when the root is destroyed, the branches wither.[19]

Another T'ang Taoist tract, the Ts'un-shen lien-ch'i ming 存神鍊氣銘 by the alchemist Sun Ssu-miao 孫思邈 (581-682), says: "In order to calm the spirit you must first of all refine the primordial breath. When this breath resides in the body, the spirit is calm and the breath like an ocean."[20] And finally, the Huang-t'ing ching 黃庭經, a central scripture of the Shang-ch'ing Taoists who enjoyed considerable influence

and prestige in the early and mid-T'ang, reads: "Inhale the primordial breath and thereby seek transcendence 呼吸元氣以求仙" (HTC 内 20:1).

"Primordial breath" was clearly an important concept in T'ang Taoist discourse, but need not be interpreted here in any overly-technical sense. It is perhaps best understood as the primordial energy which enlivened the cosmos at its conception, and continues to animate all beings. It is used in precisely this general sense by Tsung-mi in his Yüan-jen lun 原人論.[21] Tsung-mi devotes a section to a critique of the notion that sentient beings are engendered simply through the agency of the primordial breath.[22] He does not question the existence of such a force per se, but rather argues that it alone cannot account for consciousness, emotions, character traits and other features addressed by Buddhist karma theory.

◇ *The great schemata lie concealed in the formless* 大象隱於無形: This same phrase is found near the end of the Chao-lun:

> The mysterious Way 玄道 resides beyond all realms, and thus is attained by non-attaining. Etherial wisdom lies outside of things, and thus is known by non-knowing. The great schemata lie concealed in the formless, and thus are seen by non-seeing 大象隱於無形 故不見以見之. (T.1858: 45.161b19-21)

The term "great schemata" (ta-hsiang 大象) is similar to hsüan-hsiang above; it is a polyvalent cosmological term alluding to Tao-te ching 35: "Take hold of the great schemata and all under heaven will come to you 執大象 天下往," and 41: "The great schemata are without form 大象無形." This latter phrase from the Tao-te ching is responsible for the association of the "formless" (wu-hsing 無形) with the great schemata in the PTL. Commentaries to the Tao-te ching gloss ta-hsiang as an epithet for the "Tao" (Mugitani 1985: xiii-12; MH 3.408). Girardot identifies the ta-hsiang with

> the creation time before heaven and earth were separated, the period when there was only an undifferentiated condition of wholeness without any particular sound, form, or substance. Throughout the Tao-te ching this is known as the "great form" (ta-hsiang) of

> the "hidden" Tao, which is without any name or shape -- the amorphous, faceless condition of the mythological emperor Hun-tun in chapter seven of the Chuang-tzu. (Girardot 1983: 58)

One problem with Girardot's style of analysis, however, is the tendency for all terms to collapse into one.

The meaning of ta-hsiang might better be sought in the I ching. The great schemata are the subject of the third and fourth wings (i 翼) of the I-ching, namely the Hsiang chuan 象傳. Here a distinction is made between the "great images 大象," i.e., the two trigrams of the hexagram taken as wholes, and the "small images 小象," which are enigmatic references to individual lines attributed to the Duke of Chou (Honda 1978: 1.13-14; Wilhelm 1967: 257-258). Ta-hsiang is understood as the image or idea of the situation manifest in the hexagram as a whole -- the overall pattern. In our context it would seem to mean the great "pattern" behind the universe itself -- the notion that the cosmos as pattern (or even "conception") preceded the material and bifurcated phenomena through which it manifests.

◇ *The numen which is conscious of things* 識物之靈: This is a problematic construction, and the correct parsing of the phrase is unclear. I have translated it as a verb→object phrase. However, in further occurrences of the term in this chapter shih and wu appear as two nouns in apposition corresponding to the "inner" (nei 內) and the "outer" (wai 外).[23]

◇ *Within the numen lies spirit, and within spirit lies the body* 靈中有神 神中有身: The cosmological topology behind this sentence may be drawn from Tao-te ching 39: "The spirit attains the One through numen . . . If spirit lacked the numinous it would wither away 神得一以靈 . . . 神無以靈將恐歇." The syntax of the passage from the Tao-te ching is, however, highly ambiguous, and the PTL is itself somewhat obscure. I translate the term ling 靈 as "numen" following Schafer (1967: 8), although in Buddhist contexts "spirit" or even "soul" is often more

appropriate.[24] In both Buddhist and non-Buddhist Chinese mortuary rituals the ling refers to the "soul" which remains near the corpse at death and eventually comes to settle in the grave and in the ancestral tablet. Descriptions of Sung funerals for Ch'an abbots mention the ling-tso 靈座 or "spirit seat" which is set out near the coffin along with possessions belonging to the deceased abbot. The seat and possessions are clearly intended for the use of the ling of the deceased which lingers near the corpse until burial or cremation.[25]

The term shen 身, which I have translated as "body" throughout, entails more than the mere "physical" body of flesh and bones, and it must not be thought of as that which "remains behind" at death. (Note that the term shen is clearly distinguished terminologically from the shih 尸 or "corpse".) In Chinese philosophical discourse shen may be used for "personal identity," "individual personhood," or "individuality," as opposed to, or in addition to, the corporeal body.[26] In the PTL, however, the term shen 身 is frequently juxtaposed with hsin 心 ("mind"), shen 神 ("spirit"), and so on, and as such it denotes the corporeal or embodied aspect of human life, as opposed to the immaterial mental or spiritual aspect. Thus the use of "body" in this translation should thus be understood as indicating the "corporeal," but not in the sense of "inanimate" or "lifeless."

Text 143b22

No action, yet change and transformation -- each endowed with spontaneity. Subtly there arise phenomena and function, and gradually there develop forms and names. Forms bring forth that which had no substance, and names give rise to that which had no name. Each form is already a portent. The roaming ether stirs the immaculate purity.

Commentary:

The process of creation outlined here is one of progression from stillness to movement, unity to diversity, the immaterial to the material, the fine to the coarse. It can be likened to the process of condensation or coagulation of the formless (the "schemata" or <u>hsiang</u> and the "primordial breath" or <u>yüan-ch'i</u>) into subtle (<u>wei</u> 微) spiritual substances (the "numen" <u>ling</u> and the "spirit" <u>shen</u>). Spirit and numen in turn give birth to the myriad phenomena and their functional potencies (<u>shih</u> 事 and <u>yung</u> 用), which are rendered by consciousness as "name" (<u>ming</u> 名) and "form" (<u>hsing</u> 形).

◇ *A portent* (<u>chao</u> 兆): This term, which might also be translated "sign," or "omen," can also mean "a multitude." The <u>chao</u> originally referred to the markings on the oracle bone after it had been cracked by the application of heat, and as such the term is associated with the terms <u>hsiang</u> 象 and <u>hsing</u> 形.[27]

Text 143b24

[First] quiescent and still; [then] spacious and open; [finally] divided and differentiated. Above are the lords and below the ministers. Fathers and sons live intimately together. The honored and the lowly, distinct in their ranks, establish teachings to define proper order. States divide into realms and people divide into clans, each protecting their own. The practice of rites and righteousness flourish. "Good" is lauded and "evil" defined, whereupon good men are respected and evil men disdained. In such a manner arise the notions of right and wrong which give birth to quarrels and strife.

In understanding this lies freedom, but ignorance of this brings bondage. Those above hand down proscriptions such that those below have neither peace nor joy. They lose their spontaneous

will and become bound by the ties of external things. They go astray from the efficacy of non-action, and their movements have the makings of purpose.

Commentary:

The text moves without transition from the evolution of the physical universe to the evolution of social and political structures. The separation of the order of heaven from that of man is foreign to classical Chinese thought -- the same patterns underlying the natural order of heaven determine social order on earth.

This section concerns the ordering of society into family and kinship groups. Such groupings may be the product of natural evolution, but the evolution is nonetheless a "fall" away from the Way itself. The hierarchical patterning of social groups is inevitably the source of tension, divided allegiances -- a fall from grace. This issue was of fundamental importance in Chou social and moral theory. In the "Evolution of Rites" 禮運 chapter of the Book of Rites this division of society into family groups is lamented:

> When the Great Way was practiced the world was shared by all alike 天下爲公. The worthy and the able were promoted to office and men practiced good faith and lived in affection. Therefore they did not regard as parents only their own parents, or as sons only their own sons. . . . Now the Great Way has become hid and the world is the possession of private families 天下爲家. Each regards his parents as only his own parents, as sons only his own sons; goods and labor are employed for selfish ends.[28]

The PTL passage clearly reflects these perennial Chinese concerns, if not this actual passage. In her study of Chou ideology Sarah Allen comments:

> [Virtue] is essentially a response to the demands of the larger community or state, even when these demands conflict with the interests of one's family or kinship group. Heredity is the protection of family or kinship interests. This opposition is inherent in any human society that differentiates one nuclear family or

> kinship group from another, but it increases in importance with the complexity of the political and social organization of the community. In the settled agricultural community of traditional China, with its complex system of kinship organizations existing alongside a political organization with an hereditary king and a non-hereditary officialdom, this opposition assumed unusual importance. (Allen 1981: 142)

This notion of a fall is a characteristic feature of early Chinese political thought. Despite the natural origins of the patterns of social organization, primordial harmony is eventually undermined by human institutions marked by artifice, self-interest and competition.[29] This Chinese conception of a past Golden Age eclipsed by a "fall" finds expression in Buddhist cosmology in the notion of mo-fa 末法, "the final age of the dharma." Although this doctrine originated in India, it took on a profound new significance in China, and indeed became a central feature of "sinified" Buddhism. Mo-fa ideology became an important feature of virtually all medieval Chinese exegetical traditions, including the School of the Three Stages, Hua-yen, T'ien-t'ai, and Ch'an. Typical in this regard is the Chinese apocryphal scripture the Miao-sheng-ting ching 妙勝定經 which declares all merit-producing activities, including the recitation, study, and exposition of scriptures, and the construction of temples, to be counter-productive in the mo-fa, and advocates instead the practice of dhyâna (ch'an-ting 禪定).[30]

◇ *Establish teachings to define proper order* 起教叙其因: This phrase alludes to a process through which teachings arise to artificially maintain and preserve the originally pure hierarchical structure. This passage refers to the development of Confucian thought and Chou bureaucratic institutions, which were thought to reflect the natural cosmic order. The idealized Chou governmental structure became a political and social ideal for subsequent dynasties.

Text 143c2

Practicing the doctrines of the school of names, they force everything together into patterns of correspondence. In this manner sounds are organized according to the five modes, color according to the five colors, the phases according to the five phases, and virtue according to five virtues. Thus if one errs by so much as a hair's breadth the transgression is as great as a lofty mountain.

Laws arise to prohibit that which has yet to occur, and orders are issued against desires people are yet to have. A host of distinctions arise in that vast immaculate expanse. All this because men don't know when enough is enough. In these corrupt and disordered times there are students and teachers. The teachers have their traditions and the students are obedient [to them].

Commentary:

◇ *School of names* (ming-chiao 名教): The "school of names" was not a "school" in the institutional sense, but rather a trend of thought popular in literati circles in medieval China. It was

> closely related to the practical problems of government, and stress[ed] the primary importance of social duties, ritual, law and characterology (the latter as a means to define the capacities of individuals so as to realize an effective distribution of functions to be "alloted" 分 to them, and thus to harmonize "name" ming 名, and "reality" shih 實). This mixture of Confucian and Legalist notions and precepts is therefore generally called ming-chiao, "the doctrine of Names." (Zürcher 1972: 86-87)

In opposition to the hsüan-hsüeh exaltation of non-existence 無 as epitomized by the Wang-pi commentary to the Tao-te ching, the ming-chiao "exalted existence" 崇有.[31] But "ming-chiao and hsüan-hsüeh cannot simply be regarded as two rival schools of thought. In many cases the two trends appear to have been adhered to simultaneously, one serving as

a kind of metaphysical complement to the other. . . . In the most comprehensive and clear expression of early medieval philosophy, Hsiang Hsiu's (or Kuo Hsiang's) commentary to the Chuang-tzu, ming-chiao and hsüan-hsüeh are completely harmonized and amalgamated."[32] In fact, the notion of "one's natural allotment" (fen 分), which plays such a major role in Kuo Hsiang's exegesis of non-action (wu-wei 無爲), is "borrowed" from ming-chiao thought. Later, however, the term ming-chiao was used to refer to the orthodox teachings of Confucianism in general, as opposed to the term wu-ming 無名 which was used to characterize the thought of Lao-tzu.[33]

There was no formal relationship between the "school of names" and Chou and Han five-phase cosmological systems discussed in chapter 3. As I argued above, correspondence systems based on the five phases were a characteristic feature of many medieval Chinese religious and philosophical traditions. Nonetheless, the PTL seems to present formal five-phase cosmological schemes as evolving out of ming-chao ideology. I suspect this is intended as a rather general critique of a perceived Confucian penchant for generating artificial and lifeless distinctions, a result of their elevation of the "name" over the "nameless." Nonetheless, we may note that five-phase thought played a particularly important role in the meditation and ritual procedures of Taoist and Buddhist schools alike.[34]

◇ *Thus if one errs by so much as a hair's breadth the transgression is as great as a lofty mountain* 差之毫釐 過犯山嶽: This sentence refers to the development traced in the preceding paragraph. The process begins with a distinction made between ranks of men, out of which develops a complex and oppressive social structure.

The line echoes a phrase from the Hsin-hsin ming 信心銘 attributed to the legendary third Ch'an patriarch Seng-ts'an: "To err by a hair's breadth and heaven and earth are set infinitely apart 毫釐有差 天地懸隔".

(T.2076: 51.457a19-20). See chapter 1 section G for a discussion of the parallels between the Hsin-hsin ming and the PTL.

◇ *Men don't know when enough is enough* 爲人而不知足: This phrase recalls Tao-te ching 33: "He who knows contentment is wealthy 知足者富," as well as the opening lines of the Ta-hsüeh 大學: "Know wherein to come to rest and there will be peace 知止而后有定."

Text 143c7

> *Heaven and earth are endless; the cosmos is vast and wide. Within there is smoke and dust, forming a clear and subtile membrane of towering form. Within there is spirit, and without lies the numen. Out of delusion arises imagination and deliberation, obscuring the True One in darkness. From delusion arises sentience, and Truth becomes muddled. In the absence of [anything to] grasp there is yet grasping; in the absence of [anything to] attain there is yet attaining. Therefore, although the principle* 理 *is inexhaustible, there is no limit to things.*

Commentary:

This section resumes the cosmogony proper: a thin membrane, created out of the smoke and dust floating through the cosmic void, demarcates spirit (shen 神) and numen (ling 靈). This initial bifurcation gives rise to consciousness and false deliberation, which engenders grasping and thoughts of attainment. The passage is thus comprised of a schematic Taoist creation scenario (beginning with the vast void of heaven and earth, and the cosmos; then the arising of spirit and numen), onto which is grafted a Buddhist analysis of consciousness and delusion -- the source of grasping and confusion. But the textual antecedents of this rather opaque passage are far from clear.

◇ *True One* (chen-i 眞一): The "True One" is a central term in chapter 3 of the PTL, occurring some twenty-two times. The compound is rare in Chinese Buddhist materials, although it does occur in the Chao-lun as an epithet for absolute truth: "Prajñâ, empty and mysterious, is the essential and ultimate teaching of the three vehicles. It is the True One, without distinctions, yet contentious debates have raged for a long time" (T.1858: 45.153a8). In chapter 3 of the PTL the term is described as follows:

> We speak of the one out of a feeling that it is different from something else. But since this difference is [itself] not different [from difference], one is also not one. That which is neither one nor not one is provisionally called the True One.
>
> The True One is not something which can be explained in words. Therefore the One cannot itself perceive the One. If it could be perceived then there would be two [i.e., a perceiver and the thing perceived], and it would not be called the True One. Nor can one speak of knowing the One. If the One knew the One then it would be two, and it would not be called One. If there were a knowing then there would be a not knowing, and the knowing and not knowing would make two. Therefore Great Knowledge is free of both knowing and not knowing. (148c18-24)

Though rare in Buddhist materials, the term is ubiquitous in Taoist scriptures as a synonym for the Tao, and is related to the terms "Great Unity" (t'ai-i 太一) and "guard the One" (shou-i 守一), about which more will be said below. Most significantly, the term is found in the title of the T'ai-hsüan chen-i pen-chi miao ching 太玄眞一本際妙經 (commonly known as the Pen-chi ching 本際經), discussed above in connection with the ch'ung-hsüan tradition (see chapter 1 section H). The "Mind of the Tao" chapter (tao-hsin p'in 道心品) of the Pen-chi ching identifies the "True One" with the "Tao-nature" (tao-hsing 道性), a ch'ung-hsüan analogue of Buddha-nature.[35]

There are also striking similarities between the use of the term "True One" in the PTL, and the descriptions of the same term found in the San-lun yüan-chih 三論元旨, a short Taoist scripture of unknown authorship which, like the PTL, probably dates to the latter half of the

eight-century.[36] The San-lun yüan-chih description of the "True One" reads like a capsule summary of the PTL description cited above: "The one which is not one -- it is called the True One 不一之一 謂之眞一也" (Kamata 1963b: 261).

◇ *In the absence of [anything to] grasp there is yet grasping; in the absence of [anything to] attain there is yet attaining* 非取而取 非得而得: The rhetorical structure of this sentence can be traced back to Prajñâpâramitâ logical formulations (though by the eighth century this style had become rather ubiquitous in Chinese Buddhist exegesis). It recalls, for example, the following exchange between Vimalakîrti and Mañjusrî in the Vimalakîrtinirdeśa: "You come without any mark of coming, you see without any mark of seeing 不來相而來 不見相而見" (T.475: 14.544b).[37]

Text 143c10

Movement! Confusion! Internally the three poisons issue forth. Seeing! Hearing! Externally one is buffeted by the five passions. The mind agitated and the body rushing about! Contact with external things moves one to purposeful activity like the frenzied dance of fire. Therefore the sages have established the correct teachings and laid out the true course of action. They enable those who lack in understanding -- those above and below -- to rely on each other, cultivate non-action and refrain from extravagance, and thus gradually reach Suchness. The principle of Suchness is identical with the original and true path. It cannot be realized through cultivation, nor should it be [the object of] desire, for its nature is wholly quiescent and extinct.

Commentary:

The PTL continues with its conflation of Taoist cosmogony and Buddhist epistemology. The "three poisons" (san tu 三毒), greed, hatred

and delusion, wreak havoc within, while each of the senses, in contact with the external world, engenders one of the corresponding "five passions" (wu yü 五欲).[38] The sages (sheng 聖), a term which here would include the Buddhas of the past, attempt to mitigate against the effects of blind ignorance by establishing teachings or skillful means.

◇ *Suchness* (ju-ju 如如): The goal of Buddhist teachings are the realization of suchness or ju-ju, a term coined to translate the Sanskrit tathatâ, tathatva, and so on. Ju-ju is usually explained in Chinese as a synonym of fa-hsing 法性 (dharmatâ "dharma-nature"), and the author of the PTL here asserts that it is no different from the true path, which I take to be a general reference to the goal of traditional pre-Buddhist Chinese teachings. The key term is kuei 軌, which originally referred to the axle length, or the distance between cart wheels, and thus to the width of wheel ruts on roads. From this it came to mean "path" or "road," and also, following measures to standardize axle width, "rule," "law" or "regulation." In the Chao-lun the term signifies both the path of the ancient kings, and monastic rules and regulations.

Text 143c15

As for Truth, [it is a vast expanse unbroken by] either island or shoal. It is without friend or peer, limit or boundary, and devoid of place or location. And yet it serves as the progenitor of the myriad things. It cannot be seen by the eye, nor heard by the ear. It has neither shape nor form, nor is it an illusory apparition, and yet it serves as the fundamental gate to the three realms.

To correctly [grasp Truth] one must first distance oneself from form, then empty emotions, become independent of things, and cease clinging to life. Then one can merge with the Great Way and penetrate the spirit light. That which functions is called

spirit, and that which has form is called body, while that which is non-active is called the Way, and that which is devoid of attributes is called Truth. Thus in response to things there is designation, and in accord with things there is creation. But that which abides eternally, and exists eternally, is neither born nor grows old.

Commentary:

The four pairs of terms -- island and shoal, friend and peer, limit and boundary, place and location -- are split binomes. This is a case where stylistic considerations may subordinate concern for doctrinal clarity or logical rigor.

◇ *It is without friend or peer* 無伴無侶: This phrase can be interpreted as, (1) "the truth is supreme without equal," and (2) "the truth is singular and solitary." Near the end of this first chapter we have a similar phrase, "solitary and non-dual 獨而無雙" (145b26); and again in chapter 2, "being active it is without peer 用故無侶" (147a2). The image of the Tao standing alone is an old metaphor for the utter self-sufficiency and incomparability of the Tao. One of the Ma wang tui silk manuscripts, the Tao-yüan 道原, for example, says: "[The Tao] stands alone without a mate 獨立不偶" (Jan 1980b: 201), and the Lao-tzu ming 老子銘 reads: "Lao-tzu is a pair without being double, single but not uneven 偶而不雙隻而不倚" (Seidel 1969a: 64 n.5). Also note the phrase "alone and without companion 獨立而无倫" in the Lao-tzu pien-hua ching 老子變化經."[39] This is part of a description of the primordial Lao-tzu before his transformations which gave rise to the multifarious world. Again, on line 24 of the same text we find "a pair, and yet not double 偶而不雙."

◇ *It cannot be seen by the eye, nor heard by the ear* 非目視 非耳聞: This is a common theme in descriptions of the Tao, traceable to Tao-te ching 14: "Looking at it it goes unseen; it is called evanescent. Lis-

tening to it it goes unheard; it is called rarefied 視之不見 名日夷 聽之不聞 名日希" (cf. chapter 1 of the Lieh-tzu, Kobayashi 1967: 19; and below 146a13).

◇ *The three realms* 三界: These are the three realms (dhâtu) of saṃsâra, i.e., the kâma-dhâtu or "realm of desire;" the rûpa-dhâtu or "realm of form;" and the arûpa-dhâtu or "realm of non-form." "The fundamental gate" (ken-men 根門) is a Buddhist technical term for the six sense organs. But the context here demands a more generalized translation wherein ken retains its classical sense of "root," "base" or "foundation." Truth (chen 眞) is the source of all things ("the ancestor of the myriad things"), as well as the gateway to sense consciousness.

◇ *Radiance of the spirit* or *spirit light* (shen-ming 神明): The term shen-ming occurs with some frequency in the Chuang-tzu, but without any obvious technical meaning. The term became important in later Taoist nei-kuan 内觀 ("inner discernment") practices, practices which were directed at discerning the interior of the body and cultivating inner light. To visualize and illuminate the interior of the body was a means of coming into contact with, and nourishing, the spirits residing within.[40] This inner radiance, cultivated though nei-kuan, was called the "spirit light." The Nei-kuan ching 内觀經, an anonymous T'ang Taoist scripture, explains it as follows:

> The Tao is realized by the mind. The mind is illumined by the Tao. Once the mind is illumined, the Tao descends into it. When the Tao has descended, the mind is all-pervasive. The presence of the spirit light in the self can be compared with the light in a basin lamp. Light arises from fire, fire arises from burning. Burning in turn arises because of the oil, and the oil needs the wick and the basin lamp proper. Once those four (fire, burning, oil, and lamp) are gone, how could there be any light?
>
> The same pattern holds true in that spirit radiates through karma. But spirit is only present when it resides in the mind. The mind exists only within the body, and the body is only complete through the Tao. Thus we speak of the spirit light.

> Due to this light do the eyes see and the ears hear, does the mind know and the body feel. All distinctions made between beings and principle, all knowledge of even the finest and subtlest does ultimately come from the spirit shining forth. Thus we speak of the spirit light. (HY.641, f.342: 5b; trans. Kohn 1989b: 217)

The "spirit light" is somewhat analogous to the Mahâyâna understanding of "consciousness" or "mind" which in some traditions is identified with "Buddha-nature." According to this reading, the "true mind" is the enlivening force within all sentient beings which is both the object, and ultimately the subject, of Buddhist meditation techniques.

The segment above ends with a somewhat stereotypical description of the final state of immortality, the culmination of the Taoist mystical path in which the adept has become "one with the flow of things" transcending both old age and death.

Text 143c21

> *Principle merges with the ten-thousand virtues, and phenomena emerge from the thousand arts. Although phenomena are inexhaustible, the Single Way ultimately lies in principle. It is devoid of anything to be realized or attained, and thus there is no realization and no attainment.*
>
> *To dwell constantly amidst mental delusion -- such a mind is [far from] Truth and its delusion engenders turmoil in others. Bewilderment and confusion -- one is like a phantom with only a semblance of thought and imagination.*

Commentary:

The Buddhist use of the opposition between principle li 理 and phenomena shih 事 can be traced to Six Dynasties hsüan-hsüeh metaphysics, although the terms are, of course, much older. In time, the "principle-phenomena" terminology became the common property of most

Chinese exegetical traditions, most notably Sung Neo-Confucianism.[41] The terms played a major role in Chinese Buddhist exegesis, due in large part to the influence of Seng-chao. The li-shih opposition is found, however, in the work of even earlier writers, including Hsi Ch'ao 郗超 (336-377), and Chih Tun 支遁 (314-336).[42]

Gimello has argued that the principle-phenomena dialectic, in so far as it superseded (or "sublated") the dialectical opposition between form (se 色) and emptiness (k'ung 空) in the writings of the early Hua-yen patriarchs, represented an important step in the Chinese appropriation of Buddhist philosophy (Gimello 1976a: 10-16, 478-481 et passim). The Hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men 華嚴法界觀門 attributed to Tu Shun 杜順 (T.1883: 45.672a-683a) for example, dialectically sublates the opposition between form and emptiness into the category "principle," which is then opposed to "phenomena." In so doing

> the vision of the dharma-element . . . becomes more ample and diverse. It is no longer so quickly exhausted by the meager categories of identity and non-identity but now may be explored at length with the aid of more affirmatively suggestive categories like interfusion, pervasion, coexistence, sublation, concealment, et cetera. (Gimello 1976a: 481)

There is no need to rehearse the considerable secondary literature on the topic of principle and phenomena. Suffice it to say that in Chinese Buddhist discourse, "principle" is generally used to denote the standpoint of the universal, all encompassing, unchanging, underlying "pattern" or "structure," while "phenomena" refers to the manifest, the contingent, and the impermanent.

◇ *Phantom* (wang-liang 魍魎): The wang-liang is a kind of noxious spirit or monster which dwells in forests and crags lying in wait for human victims. Also written 罔魎, the wang-liang appear in the Tso-chuan 左傳 as a species of malevolent spirits found in rivers, marshes, hills and forests.[43] Other early sources depict the wang-liang as a tree and rock sprite which feeds on men.[44] It is said to resemble a

three year old child, with red and black skin, red eyes, long ears, and beautiful hair, and is capable of mimicking the sound of men in order to deceive them, although descriptions vary a good deal. In the present context wang-liang is used in a somewhat generic sense to conjure the ghostly and evanescent existence of nature spirits.

Text 143c24

[Such misguided] investigating and pondering! Understanding is not [as simple] as pointing at the palm of your hand. Like clouds suddenly appearing in the empty sky, or dust appearing on the mirror -- "this" and "that" arise only in dependence on conditions and appear to exist only due to our delusion. Delusion is called ignorance, and its absence is called Truth. Truth is like ice melting into water, and delusion like water freezing into ice. Water and ice seem to be two, but in essence they are the same. Confused delusion is called ignorance, and awakened Truth is called wisdom. Just as ice cannot melt in winter and water cannot freeze in spring, so too ignorance cannot be rectified instantly, nor can one expect to be suddenly disposed to wisdom. Release comes gradually, slowly melting and dissolving into the great sea. This is called the natural way, whose functioning is the mystery of mysteries. It cannot be fathomed by thought or deliberation. Allow time to take its course; things cannot be forced along.

Commentary:

◇ *Understanding is not a matter of pointing at the palm of your hand* (liao wu chih chang 了無指掌): This phrase employs an idiom drawn from the Lun-yü 論語 3.11: "Someone asked about the theory of the ti sacrifice. The Master said, 'It is not something I understand, for whoever understands it will be able to manage the Empire as easily as if he had it here,' pointing to his palm 指其掌" (trans. Lau 1979: 68). "Pointing to one's palm" came to mean "easily understood."

◇ *Truth is like ice melting into water, and delusion like water freezing into ice* 眞氷釋水妄水結氷: The metaphor plays in part on the opposition of shih 釋, which I have rendered "to melt," and chieh 結, translated here as "to freeze." But shih is more literally "to release," "loosen" or "explain;" and chieh is "to bind," "congeal" or "knot." Thus the two verbs bring out the opposition between truth and ignorance through the opposition of water (which flows freely, resisting nothing), and ice (which is hard, cold, and resistant).

One might interpret the above passage as expressing the "gradualist" tendencies associated with so-called "Northern Ch'an." The text likens the growth of understanding and the unfolding of Truth to the gradual melting of ice, a process which occurs naturally in the appropriate season. But it would be a mistake to apply the notoriously polemic "gradualist-sudden" terminology to the PTL. The reasoning of our text is more subtle than the simple assertion that awakening is a gradual process. Rather, the emphasis is on the essential identity of both delusion and ignorance, both of which spring from a single source, namely the Tao. Truth and delusion are two aspects of a single reality -- one cannot forcibly eradicate ignorance or coerce the arising of wisdom. The true path lies in discerning the ultimate identity of both ignorance and wisdom, and allowing things to take their natural course.

◇ *The natural way whose functioning is the mystery of mysteries* 自然之道運用玄玄: The "mystery of mysteries" (hsüan hsüan 玄玄), which occurs again below (145b24-25), alludes to Tao-te ching 1 which is discussed in detail in chapter 1 section H of this study. The term "mystery of mysteries" is behind the term "twofold mystery" (ch'ung-hsüan 重玄), which was used by Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 to designate a style of Tao-te ching exegesis particularly popular in T'ang. For the possible connections between ch'ung-hsüan exegesis and the PTL see chapter 1 section K.

◇ *Allow time to take its course; things cannot be forced along* 當可以綿綿 不可以勤勤: The terminology employed here probably alludes to a passage in <u>Tao-te ching</u> 6: 綿綿若存 用之不勤 which Lau translates: "Dimly visible, it seems as if it were there, yet use will never drain it" (Lau 1963: 62).

Text 144a2

In approaching the Way one comes across a myriad small paths. A fish in distress will pause in a small puddle. A sick bird will rest on a reed. These two know not of the great sea, nor of the dense forests. It is just the same with men hastening along their petty ways. This could be called stopping midway through a long task. Without ever reaching the principle of suchness, they throw out what is great and pursue what is small. Halfway along the road they stop and rest, finding satisfaction in a little peace. They do not approach the peace which is the Great Peace.

Now, the greatness [of the Great Peace] is vast and boundless. Fully comprehending the single essence it embraces equally the myriad things. It responds in a thousand transformations, and changes in a multitude of manifestations, yet there is no coming forth and no passing away. Its functioning lies between existence and non-existence. There is mind without form, and functions without human [agency] 人. *It manifests birth without [in fact] being born; manifests a body without [in fact] being a body. Forever calculating it is yet unfathomable; always perceiving* 識 *yet it is not perceived. It acts without action, and attains without attaining* 爲而無爲 得而無得.

Commentary:

The reference to the sick bird recalls the story of the cicada and the little dove in the opening chapter of the <u>Chuang-tzu</u>, who are in-

credulous of the flight of the P'eng bird (1/1/8 ff.; Watson 1968: 30).

◇ *Great Peace* (ta-an 大安): This term recalls but also avoids the politically charged term t'ai-p'ing 太平, a term associated with anti-government Taoist messianism since the second century A.D.

Text 144a10

The images in the mirror have a thousand facets, and the substance of water [reflects] a myriad colors. The reflections divide the world of dust; resonance functions without limit.

Devoid of form, there is yet form. Devoid of name, there is yet name. Things of like kind affect one another; harmoniously they come together and give birth. There is birth, and yet there is no-birth -- it is devoid of feeling. Many call it "holy" and many call it "luminous;" there are many terms for it and in each case it assumes reality in dependence upon the name given.

Commentary:

This segment is typical of the manner in which the PTL invokes the "cosmology of sympathetic resonance" discussed in chapter 3. The actual material substance of the mirror or the water is one and the same throughout, and yet they reflect a myriad different forms and colors. More will be said below concerning the symbolism associated with Chinese talismanic mirrors.[45]

◇ *The reflections divide the world of dust* 影分塵界: This phrase is problematic, as it could also be read "the reflections sunder the world of dust." The latter reading, however, accentuates an underlying problem in the passage, which seems to have arisen from a blurring of metaphors: the "world of dust" (ch'en-chieh 塵界) is precisely the world of reflections, mistakenly taken to be real -- how could one act upon

the other? In Buddhist scriptures the term <u>ch'en</u> 塵 also has the sense of "objective," and "impure" or "defiled." Thus <u>ch'en-chieh</u> could equally well be rendered "the realm of the senses," or "the realm of defilement."

◇ *Resonance functions without limit* 應用無極: The "functioning of resonance" (<u>ying yung</u> 應用) denotes the multifarious activity resulting from the propensity of things to resonate or respond to things of like kind (see also below 145c6). In Buddhist contexts, the compound <u>ying-yung</u> is applied to the activity of the Buddha through which he responds to the needs of living beings, and manifests in the appropriate place, at the appropriate time, and in an appropriate form (See MH 4.1026; Oda 1983: 147b; and the extended discussion in chapter 3 section I).

◇ *Things of like kind affect one another; harmoniously they come together and give birth* 物類相感 和合而生: This statement of the principle "like attracts like" generalizes a zoological fact into a metaphysical principle. Animals respond to the calls of others of the same species, and their coming together gives rise to conception and birth. But the principle is immediately subject to a Buddhist qualification -- there is birth and yet there is no "independently existent being" who is born. There is only the production of empty, dependently-originated objects.

◇ *It is devoid of feeling* (<u>ch'i</u> <u>wu</u> <u>yu</u> <u>ch'ing</u> 其無有情): This phrase could also be read "there is no sentient life," as <u>yu-ch'ing</u>, used as a translation for the Sk. <u>sattva</u>, is a common term for "a being endowed with consciousness." Once again we see an interweaving of Taoist and Buddhist themes -- the phenomenal variegated world is created through what is ultimately an impersonal principle of sympathetic resonance. From the cosmological perspective the ongoing process of production is devoid of "feeling" (see the discussion of the sage chapter 3). From the Buddhist standpoint, the phenomenal world is characterized as <u>anâtman</u>, devoid of enduring selfhood or intrinsic being. The process of

creation may be characterized as "holy" 聖 or "luminous" 明, and such characterizations determine the manner in which the world is understood. The "reality" of the process is ultimately dependent upon our attempts to signify it.

Text 144a14

Its essential principle 宗 is non-action, and its appearance is the very absence of attributes. It is as ubiquitous, pure and empty as the great sky, and ultimately without location, [and yet] activity is found within. That which is attained is singular, and that which is realized is secret. [And yet], being attained it is not singular, and being realized it is not secret. Thus it is not so that it is not singular, and not so that it is not secret.

Its essence is the transcendence of yin; its function is the subtlety of yang. Words do not exhaust the principle, nor does activity exhaust the principles of conduct. This can be called the Grand Subtlety.

Commentary:

The passage above, like so much of the first chapter of the PTL, could be read as describing the Way itself and/or the sage in whom the Way is embodied. The ambiguity of the translation is an attempt to capture that of the original.

The segment above plays with paradoxes involved in "attaining" (te 得) and "realizing" (cheng 證) that which cannot be "attained" or "realized" -- namely the ultimate Tao itself. It then makes brief mention of the "transcendence of yin" (yin-li 陰離) and the "subtlety of yang" (yang-wei 陽微). This is the first occurrence in the text of the opposition between li 離 and wei 微 which is the focus of a long discussion at the beginning of chapter 2 of the translation below. The PTL is

considered by the later East-Asian Buddhist tradition to be the source of the li-wei dialectic. Although the terminology certainly owes its currency in East Asian Buddhist thought to the PTL, it will be seen below that the li-wei opposition originated in an earlier text which is no longer extant. A full discussion of the terms li and wei will be found in the introduction to chapter 2 of the translation below.

◇ *Words do not exhaust the principle, nor does activity exhaust the principles of conduct* 言不盡理 行不盡儀: The syntax of this sentence parallels that of a line from the first section of the Hsi tz'u 繫辭 chapter of the I ching 易經: "The master said, writing does not exhaust words, and words do not exhaust the meaning 子曰 書不盡言 言不盡意" (Honda 1978: 2.300). The term translated "principles of conduct" (i 儀) has a technical sense in the I ching where it refers to the yin and yang lines. These two "primary forces" generate in turn the four schemata 象 which in turn generate the eight trigrams.[46] The more common meaning in Buddhist texts is "ritual form" or "correct deportment." Common to both is the notion of a paradigm, archetype, or model, which structures movement and activity.

◇ *Grand Subtlety* (t'ai-wei 太微): T'ai-wei is the name both of a constellation, and of the celestial palace or heaven (t'ai-wei kung 太微宮) located therein. The term is often translated "Grand Tenuity," but I prefer to retain "subtlety" for wei as the term is central to the rhetoric of the PTL.[47] The "Grand Tenuity Palace" is the southern palace of the Thearch, as opposed to the northern one, the "Palace of Purple Tenuity 紫微," which occurs in the PTL below (145b25). This palace,

> was the sovereign's southern palace, in the antipodes of the northern one -- not factually but symbolically, since it was located on the ecliptic in Virgo and Leo, with the center of its great encompassing wall exactly at the autumnal equinox. This duplicate of the polar palace fell within the equatorial domain of the Red Bird of the south, and its long walls radiated their power among the generals and ministers of China. (Schafer 1977: 52)

The presence of such astronomical motifs in our text (see also t'ai-i 太一 below, 144c16, 145a27-28) is probably no more than testimony to the currency of such terms in poetic writing and belles-lettres of the T'ang, where they are used as metaphors for the night sky, the heavens, the mysterious cosmos, and the transcendent and occult higher realms. Such terms denote the spheres in which the transcendent and perfected ones roam.

Text 144a18

Mountain grasses are without end and spring water is inexhaustible. The breeze of the valley never rests; the sound of the gong never ends. If things of the world are like this, how much more so is the Way. With necessity there is haste and loss; but when there is no necessity there is ample time. Although heaven and earth may change, the empty sky alone is eternal.

The [karmic] inclinations of those who study the way are without residue, while the inclinations of those who do not study the way [are tainted with] residue. When there is no residue the Way is close, but when there is residue the Way is distant.

Commentary:

◇ *Sound of the gong* (chung sheng 鐘聲): The phrase is somewhat unexpected in this list of images of the eternal. Other than a short and probably irrelevant reference to "eternal sound" (ch'ang sheng 常聲) in the Laṅkâvatâra, I have not been able to locate any possible antecedents for the image.[48]

◇ *The [karmic] inclinations of those who study the way are without residue, while the inclinations of those who do not study the way [are tainted] with residue* 夫學道者習無餘 不學道者習有餘: My translation interprets hsi 習 as a somewhat technical Buddhist term derived from the

Sk. vâsanâ -- the accumulation of karmic "impressions," "traces," "pervasions," "propensities," or "inclinations" which result from unskillful action in the past and condition future behavior (the full form, hsi-ch'i 習氣 appears below, 147a12). However, the "residue" (yü 餘) itself must be propagated through the agency of the vâsanâ, a fact which renders this passage confusing from the point of view of more traditional Buddhist scholasticism.

The terms yu-yü 有餘 and wu-yü 無餘 recall the technical Buddhist terms "nirvâṇa with remainder" (Sk. sopadhieśeṣa-nirvâṇa) and "nirvâṇa without remainder" (Sk. nirupadhieśeṣa-nirvâṇa) respectively.[49] According to "classical" Buddhist soteriology, the first term refers to the initial enlightenment of a Buddha (or arhat) and his continued existence on earth in a physical body. The second term refers to the death of an enlightened being, following which there will be no further rebirth (i.e., "no remainder"). These terms are the focus of an extended discussion at the beginning of the Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun 涅槃無名論, the last of the four essays comprising the Chao-lun, in which Seng-chao subjects the distinction to a Mâdhyamika-style deconstruction (see especially T.1857: 45.148a4-159a8). According to Seng-chao, from the perspective of ultimate truth, nirvâṇa is not a "something" which could be described as either with or without residue.[50]

The terms are also found in non-Buddhist Chinese literature, in which wu-yü is used to designate teachings which taught the essential core of the doctrine, while yu-yü refers to teachings extraneous to the central or orthodox doctrine. As a piece of Chinese Taoist literature the passage could be understood as follows: "The practice of one who studies the way has nothing extraneous to it, while one who does not study the Way practices non-essentials." In the final analysis, this passage appears to use the terms in their non-technically Buddhist sense, while yet retaining the Buddhist valuation of wu-yü as "ultimate."

Text 144a22

<u>To know existence is to be ruined by existence, and to know non-existence is to be defeated by non-existence. The knowing which is true knowing does not make any distinction between existence and non-existence.</u> Don't impute existence to existence, or non-existence to non-existence. [When] neither existence nor non-existence are perceived, both their nature and attributes are thusness. Barren and empty, and yet activity issues forth 用出. *When such is not the case there is plenty of delusion and loss, and in the midst of it all fanciful deliberation.*

To emphasize practice [only leads to a] host of afflictions. Misfortune is confused with fortune, and fortune is confused with misfortune. The business of fortune and misfortune is a screen, a barrier to the True One. Therefore it is impossible that one who is devoted to the Way would share in this confusion.

Commentary:

The passage underlined above (知有有壞 知無無敗 眞知之知 有無不計) is quoted by Tsung-mi in his <u>Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'uan chi-tu hsü</u> 禪源諸詮集都序.[51] The sentence is grammatically ambiguous, as it may also be read: "Know existence and there will be ruin, but know non-existence and there will be no defeat. But the knowing which is true knowing does not reckon between the two."

◇ *Both their nature and attributes are thusness* (<u>hsing hsiang ju-ju</u> 性相如如): <u>Hsing hsiang</u> can be read as a compound (Sk. <u>bhâva-lakṣaṇa</u>) meaning the "essential nature," but here they are most likely two terms, meaning the [unmanifest essential] nature and the [manifest] characteristics.

◇ *Fanciful deliberation* (meng-lu 夢慮, cf. 144b9 below): The term lu has a somewhat neutral valence in generic Mahâyâna literature, meaning to "ponder" or to "think upon," but takes on negative connotations in Ch'an related texts where it is considered a hindrance to liberation.

Text 144a27

> *Those who study the Way can be divided into three: the first are called "true," the second are called "proximate," and the third are called "learners." To cultivate study is called "learning," to break off from study is called being "proximate," and to go beyond these two is called "truth." Of those who do not study the Way there are also three: the highest is called "auspicious," the next is called "excellent," and the lowest is called "inauspicious." The pinnacle of pleasure is called "excellent," while the pinnacle of pain is called "misfortune." To experience neither pleasure nor pain is called "auspicious." Even so, none of these three penetrate to the truth, and thus they can never be considered the [true] Way.*

Commentary:

◇ *Those who study the Way can be divided into three: the first are called "true," the second are called "proximate," and the third are called "learners"* 夫學道者有三 其一謂之眞 其二謂之隣 其三謂之聞: The "three kinds of study" recall the "three kinds of wisdom," of which there are numerous enumerations. The most common is known in Chinese as the san-hui 三慧 (Sk. trividhâ-prajñâ), a relatively early formulation consisting of (1) "knowledge from study of scripture" (wen-hui 聞慧, Sk. śrutamayî-prajñâ), (2) "knowledge from reflection [upon scripture]" (ssu-hui 思慧, Sk. cintâmayî-prajñâ), and (3) "knowledge gained through practice" (i.e., through personal experience, hsiu-hui 修慧, Sk. bhâvanâmayî-prajñâ) (MZ 2.1454-1455; Nakamura 1981: 482). There are also various Mahâyânist versions of the "three kinds of wisdom" -- com-

monly known under the rubric of the <u>san-chih</u> 三智 -- but none of these seem particularly relevant to the passage at hand (MZ 2.1613-1614; Nakamura 1981: 482). It is possible that "learning" or <u>wen</u> mentioned above is derived from the <u>wen-hui</u> 聞慧 of <u>śrutamayî-prajñâ</u>, but the two remaining categories have no clear antecedents.

This enumeration of "three kinds of study" was most likely an innovation on the part of the author of the <u>PTL</u> -- at least it was considered as such by the later Ch'an tradition. The sentence: *To cultivate study is called "learning," to break off from study is called being "proximate," and to go beyond these two is called "truth"* 習學謂之聞 絶學謂之隣 過此二者謂之眞, appears at the beginning of case 44 of the <u>Pi-yen lu</u> 碧巖録, where it is supposedly quoted by Ho-shan Wu-yin 禾山無殷 (891-960).[52] Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in's 圜悟克勤 (1063-1135) commentary to the case includes the following remarks:

> Ho-shan imparted a teaching, saying: "To cultivate study is called 'learning,' to break off from study is called being 'proximate,' and to go beyond these two is to truly go beyond." The words of this case come from the <u>Treasure Store Treatise</u>. When study arrives at [the place of] no-study, this is called "breaking off study." Thus it is said: "shallow learning, deep understanding; deep learning, no understanding." This is called "breaking off study." [Yung-chia Hsüan-chüeh 永嘉玄覺], who mastered [the Way] in a single night, said: "Since my youth I have accumulated learning, examined the commentaries, and investigated the scriptures and treatises. [One who has] exhausted the cultivation of such study is called a 'free man of the Way, who has broken off study and is without purpose.' When he has arrived at the point of breaking off study, then, for the first time, he is close to the Way. When he manages to go beyond these two [stages of] study, this is called 'truly going beyond.'" 禾山垂示云 習學謂之聞 絶學謂之隣 過此二者 是爲眞過 此一則語出寶藏論 學至無學謂之絶學 所以道淺聞深悟 深聞不悟 謂之絶學 一宿學道 吾早年來積學問 亦曾討疏尋經論 習學既盡 謂之絶學無爲閑道人 及至絶學 方始與道相近 直得過此二學 是謂眞過.[53]

◇ *Auspicious* (<u>hsiang</u> 祥), *excellent* (<u>liang</u> 良), and *inauspicious* (<u>yang</u> 殃): These terms are rhymes, as well as diviner's terms commonly found on Han mirrors. As noted above, some of the apparent "doctrinal innovations" and expository nuances of the <u>PTL</u> may well have more to do

with stylistic considerations than with philosophical rigor. I will note such rhymes in the text only when versification seems to be behind an otherwise obscure turn of phrase.

Text 144b3

The ascending spirit rises like a torrent; the windblown sea surges and swells. The impurities of the mind are stirred and unsettled. Such sorrow and lamenting! Beings revolve through the rounds of rebirth in the triple realm, arising and passing away through cycles of life and death, coming and departing through the six paths without recourse to the Way for rescue, or to the Truth for guidance. The sages of the [various] vehicles 乘聖 *all take compassion upon them, [looking upon all beings] as a mother thinks upon her own children. They refrain from teaching when the time is not ripe, but wait patiently for the right opportunity. This is the manner of the Great Way; the principles of conduct of the past and the present are the same. One cannot rush or force things along.*

In the spirit lies wisdom and in wisdom lies sorrow. There is no salvation to be obtained through this sorrow; one only ends up exhausted and distressed. Even so, it is called a means to liberation.

The situation being thus, one's vigilant and diligent efforts will inevitably give rise to dreams and worries. In fretfully seeking outside, the path of mystery is overturned and abandoned, the immaculate void is sullied, and emotions occupy all quarters 情存有處. *Alas, such grief and pain -- there is no relief from trouble and toil!*

Commentary:

◇ *The six realms of rebirth* (liu tao 六道, Sk. gati): These are the realms of saṃsâra, namely the realms of hell, preta (hungry ghosts), animals, asura (warrior titans), humans and gods.

The association of sorrow (pei 悲) with wisdom (chih 智) would seem to render the context here explicitly Buddhist, as these are the two aspects of the development of the bodhisattva -- compassion and wisdom (Sk. karuṇâ and prajñâ) -- but the immediate context demands that pei be read as "grief," or "sorrow" (cf. 144b4 悲哉哀哉). This is another example of the manner in which the PTL appropriates Buddhist terminology into a classically Chinese context, while yet retaining Buddhist resonances.

◇ *Even so, it is called a means to liberation* 然謂可度: The character tu 度 is interchangeable with tu 渡, the Chinese translation equivalent for pâramitâ or "perfection." The passage is ambiguous -- it may in fact be saying that there is no liberation to be found in cultivation of compassion alone, in which case it should be translated: "Nevertheless, it is [mistakenly] called a means to liberation." I prefer, however, a more classically Buddhist interpretation in line with prajñâpâramitâ rhetoric: compassion and sorrow for the world will not in themselves lead to salvation, and yet they still constitute one of the pâramitâ, an upâya or skillful means. The following passage from the Mo-ho chih-kuan 摩訶止觀 eloquently captures this tension between the doctrine of emptiness and the Mahâyâna ideal of universal compassion:

> Thus there is the arising of great compassion and the two vows: "Sentient beings are limitless; I vow to save them. The passions are numberless; I vow to extinguish them." Although sentient beings are empty, I vow to save those empty sentient beings. Although I know that the passions are non-existent, I vow to extinguish those non-existent passions. Although I know the number of sentient beings to be very great, I will save that very great number of sentient beings. Although I know the passions to be infinitely deep, I will extinguish those infinitely deep passions.

> Although I know sentient beings to be like the Suchness of the Buddha, still I will save those very sentient beings who are like the Suchness of the Buddha. Although I know the passions to bear the mark of reality, still I will extinguish those passions which bear the mark of reality. Why so? If one only uproots the causes of suffering and not the fruit of suffering, this vow is one of confused poisons, and therefore one must discern emptiness. If one is inclined towards the standpoint of emptiness, then one will lose sight of the sentient beings who can yet be saved. This is called being attached to emptiness, and all the Buddhas cannot help [such a person]. If one is inclined towards a view of sentient beings as needing to be saved, this is to fall into great compassion tinged with attachment, and is not the way of liberation. And so on. Therefore I now speak of what is neither poison nor counterfeit, and therefore it is called truth. It errs neither to the side of emptiness, nor to the side of being, and therefore it is called correct. 若但拔苦因不拔苦果 此誓雜毒 故須觀空 若偏觀空則不見衆生可度 是名著空者 諸佛所不化 若偏見衆生化度 即墮愛見大悲 非解脱道 云云 今則非毒非偽故名為眞 非空邊非有邊故名為
>
> The birds fly through the empty sky, yet do not ultimately abide in the sky, and not abiding in the sky their tracks cannot be found. Although [all beings are] empty there is yet salvation; although there is salvation, [all beings] are yet empty. (T.1911: 46.56a)

◇ *Vigilant and diligent efforts* (<u>ch'a-ch'a</u> <u>ching-ch'in</u> 察察精勤): The term <u>ch'a-ch'a</u> occurs twice in the <u>Tao-te</u> <u>ching</u> where it is opposed to <u>men-men</u> 悶悶, "muddled." "Vulgar people are alert, I alone am muddled" (chapter 20; trans. Lau 1963: 77); "When the government is muddled the people are simple. When the government is alert the people are cunning" (chapter 58; trans. Lau 1963: 119). The use of <u>ch'a-ch'a</u> in the <u>PTL</u> preserves these negative overtones. The term <u>ching-ch'in</u> is an occasional translation for the technical Sanskrit term <u>vîrya</u>, ("vigor," "virility," "energy," "fortitude"), one of the <u>pâramitâ</u> as well as one of the seven "limbs of enlightenment" (Sk. <u>bodhyaṅga</u>). The Chinese interpretation as <u>chin-chin</u> 精進, which is the more common Chinese rendering of <u>vîrya</u>, implies "pure progress" or "zealous pursuit of the dharma."

Text 144b11

When the sun is hidden behind clouds, although it remains bright it does not shine down. When wisdom lies concealed in delusion, although it remains true, the path goes untrodden 不道. *Why should this be so? It is because [wisdom] has yet to emerge from its bonds. Therefore, one cannot unite with what is distant, nor can one be freed from what is nearby. Such a one who has yet to tread the Way should not act recklessly.*

One who is determined to return does not concern himself with what lies behind, and one who is determined to do battle does not concern himself with his own neck. One who is determined to study does not value his own body, and one who is determined to tread the Way does not value worldly affairs 事. *His entering leaves no tracks; his coming forth is without striving. His understanding is devoid of anything to be attained, and his outer involvements are naturally quiescent -- quiescent and unborn.*

Inherent essence 自體 *is nameless -- the nameless unwrought substance. Principle is free of outward cravings, and infinite meritorious virtue is utterly yielding and self-sufficient.*

Commentary:

◇ *Outer involvements* (p'an yüan 攀緣): The term "outer involvements" has a Buddhist technical sense, similar to yüan 緣, meaning "a cause or basis," "something to lay hold of," thus -- the basis of consciousness, the object of consciousness. It is found in two texts clearly known to the author of the PTL, the Vimalakîrtinirdeśa (see T.475: 14.542c, and 545a), and the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論 (T.1667: 32.577b). It also appears at least once in the apocryphal Śûraṃgamasûtra 首楞嚴經 (T.945: 19.108c5). Its more generalized meaning is "to be involved in mundane affairs."

◇ *Nameless unwrought substance* (wu-ming chih p'o 無名之朴, see also 146a22-23 and 148b29): The term p'o, which literally means an unhewn or uncarved block of wood, is used frequently in both the Chuang-tzu and the Tao-te ching to refer to the natural state of things before they are shaped by human artifice. The phrase wu-ming chih p'o is taken from the Tao-te ching 37:

> The way never acts yet nothing is left undone.
> Should lords and princes be able to hold fast to it,
> The myriad creatures will be transformed of their own accord.
> After they are transformed, should desire raise its head,
> I shall press it down with the weight of the nameless uncarved block.
> The nameless uncarved block is but freedom from desire,
> And if I cease to desire and remain still,
> The empire will be at peace of its own accord.[54]

Text 144b18

One who dwells in a shell knows not the enormity of the cosmos. One who dwells in physical form knows not the vastness of the void. Therefore, in darkness there is no light, and in light no darkness.

All dharmas are but successive moments of thought without interdependence. When things are cut off from each other and emotions estranged, such opposing emotions are difficult to bring into accord.

Commentary:

◇ *One who dwells in a shell* (k'o chu che 殼居者): By the T'ang a k'o (husk, skin or shell) is used as a metaphor for the defiled body of human birth (the phrase k'o lou tzu 殼漏子 or "oozing husk" is a popular term for the physical body in Ch'an materials).

◇ *One who dwells in physical form* (hsing ch'u 形處): In the Sung and T'ang translations of the Lankâ this term is used as a translation for the Sanskrit saṃsthâna, "form" or "appearance."

◇ *All dharmas are but successive moments of thought without interdependence* 諸法念念 各不相待: Nien-nien 念念 is a common Chinese equivalent for the Sanskrit citta-kṣaṇa, an instant of thought. In technical Buddhist contexts the compound hsiang-tai 相待 can mean "interdependence," but it also has a more common usage meaning "opposition" or "mutual tension" (see below, 145a21).[55] The current passage is apparently derived from the Kumârajîva translation of the Vimalakîrti: "All dharmas arise and pass away without abiding -- like an illusion or a flash of lightning. *All dharmas are without interdependence*, and do not abide for even [the duration of a] single thought 一切法生滅不住 如幻如電 諸法不相待 乃至一念不住" (T.475: 14.541b). This reading of Kumârajîva's text is substantiated by a look at the Tibetan: "All dharmas are without arising, disappearance and duration, like an illusion, a cloud and a flash of lightening. All dharmas are without interdependence and do not last even an instant" (trans. Lamotte 1976: 73).

Another variation of this same passage is found in the Ma-tsu yü-lu 馬祖語録:

> Therefore the [Vimalakîrti] Sûtra says: "This body is not but the aggregate of many dharmas. When it arises it is only dharmas arising, when it passes it is only dharmas passing" [T.475: 14.545a]. When these dharmas arise they do not say "I am arising," and when they pass away they do not say "I am passing away." The former thought, the later thought, and the present thought -- each successive instant of thought is without interdependence; each successive instant of thought is quiescent and extinguished. 前念後念中念 念念不相待 念念寂滅.[56].

It is highly unlikely that the PTL itself was Ma-tsu's inspiration, although the Ma-tsu yü-lu and the PTL were probably drawing on similar sources. Ma-tsu's rendition remains closer to an "orthodox" Buddhist understanding of the Vimalakîrti passage. It begins with a

familiar analysis of <u>anâtman</u> -- all aggregate phenomena are no more than the sum of their parts. Analysis into parts ultimately leads to the smallest unit of division -- dharmas -- which themselves have no sense of "self." Further, such dharmas, conceived of as actual ontic happenings, must be without temporal duration, since if they endured they would be further divisible into subtler, even more transient dharmas. But there is no way for dharmas so conceived to effect the arising of further dharmas -- any bearer of residual "force" which survives the extinction of a dharma would itself have to be comprised of one or more transitory dharmas. Dharmas are thus paradoxically (and impossibly) both interdependent and independent entities, and are therefore said to be illusory or "empty."

As is typical of Chinese "Ch'annish" reformulations of Mâdhyamika rhetoric, Ma-tsu renders the argument in less abstract terms, referring to instants of cognition rather than to dharmas. This shift is facilitated by the polyvalence of the terms <u>nien</u> and <u>nien-nien</u> -- in Buddhist discourse they can refer to both (1) a single thought and the succession of such thoughts, and (2) an infinitesimally small unit of time and the succession of such units. The <u>PTL</u> version of this pericope is less lucid than that of Ma-tsu, but does appear to assert that dharmas, being temporally discrete and hence independent entities, cannot logically be said to exist in a dependent relationship one to the other.

◇ *When things are cut off from each other and emotions estranged, such opposing emotions are difficult to bring into accord* 物隔情離 違情難會: This terse passage is far from clear. Given the sentence immediately preceding, the <u>PTL</u> may be saying that our experience of the world as an assemblage of discrete objects and diverse emotional states is a product of the unceasing flow of thought, and that each moment of thought is ultimately empty of enduring or substantial being.[57]

Text 144b21

When red dates become worm-ridden, they may look robust on the surface, but they are rotten within. When sand and water flow along together, the surface may appear clear but the bottom is murky. When the kingdom is concealed within idle eloquence the world is not well governed. When form is concealed within mind, all the myriad things are defiled.[58] *This is so because each of them is diseased.*

Therefore, insofar as things are possessed of numen, the numen must include the demonic, the demonic must include desire, desire must include mind, and mind must include emotion. The movement of emotion is itself desire, and the demonic issues forth as the spectre. The spectre is a distortion of spirit, and desire a distortion of Truth. Therefore [such things] must not be approached by those who practice the Way.

The mirrors of old illumine the spectres, and the spectres assume their own [true] form. The teachings of old shine upon the mind and the mind is itself luminous.

Commentary:

◇ *The demonic* (yao 妖): This term is commonly found in divination texts, referring to such calamities as premature death. As a force it is the negative counterpart of the ling or "numen." Note the use of the term in Tao-te ching 58: "Who knows the limit? Does not the straightforward exist? The straightforward changes again into the crafty, and the good changes again into the monstrous 妖" (trans. Lau 1963: 119).

◇ *Spectre* (ching 精): The term ching has a multitude of meanings, including "essence," "embryo," "seminal force," "potency," and so on, but the immediate context indicates that ching here refers to the "petty ghosts" or "spectres" which populate the Chinese spirit realm (see also the reference below to the "spectres of trees and rocks 木石之精," 147b3). This passage associates Buddhist doctrinal terms, such as "mind" (hsin), "desire" (yü), and "emotion" (ching), with the fauna of Chinese cosmology, including the ling, yao and ching.

◇ *The mirrors of old illumine the spectres, and the spectres assume their own [true] form* 古鏡照精其精自形: The "mirrors of old" are the old bronze talismanic mirrors, which could reflect the true form of otherwise invisible or disguised spirits, ghosts, spectres, and even gods. According to the Pao-p'u-tzu: "The spirits in old objects are capable of assuming human shape for the purpose of confusing human vision and constantly putting human beings to a test. It is only when reflected in a mirror that they are unable to alter their true forms" (17.2a; trans. Ware 1966: 281). Chih-i refers to the use of mirrors to expose and protect against lurking demons (mei 媚) in his Mo-ho chih-kuan 摩訶止觀 (T.1911: 46.116a), and refers specifically to "ancient mirrors 古鏡" in his description of the Fang-teng san-mei 方等三昧. The preparations for the rite include placing such a mirror on the altar "to protect the sanctuary from evil influences" (Fang-teng san-mei hsing-fa 方等三昧行法, T.1940: 46.945a11).

By the T'ang, sacred mirrors had a long established history of use in Taoist divination and ritual. Inscribed mirrors were treasured as powerful talismans, used to make contact with various immortals and divinities, including Lao-chün 老君 himself.[59] Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen's 司馬承禎 Shang-ch'ing han-hsing chien chien t'u 上清含象劍鑑圖, an illustrated description of liturgical swords and mirrors dedicated to the T'ang emperor Hsüan-tsung, waxes eloquent on the wondrous properties of such mirrors.[60] The short text which accompanies the illustrations construes the sacred mirrors (and swords) as microcosms -- the design of

the mirror reproduces the many nested layers of the traditional Han universe.[61] For Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, the inscribed mirror is more than a mere ritual or symbolic implement for use in divination procedures -- it is a gateway to the occult mysteries:

> Reflected in the mirror is the sublime. The enduring substance is concentrated within, transparent and still. The clear radiance blazons without -- gaze into it and you will penetrate. It responds without concealing, and the mind of the Perfected is increasingly revealed [therein]. Illuminate and examine the reflected image -- the <u>forms of the spectral transformations are restored there</u>. This is called "possessing the Way of constant illumination, and possessing the truth of the spirit and numen." Of all the treasures which men esteem and enjoy, none come before this instrument. It allows one both to see oneself, and to scrutinize outer things. 而鑑之爲妙也 貞質内凝 湛然惟寂 清暉外瑩 覽焉遂通 應而不藏 至人之心愈顯 照而徵影 精變之形斯復 所謂有貞明之道也 有神靈之正也 捧玩之寶 莫先玆器 既可以自見 亦可以鑒物.[62]

The purport of the <u>PTL</u> passage above seems to be the following: just as the mirrors of old do not produce spectres or spirits, but merely reveal their true forms, the teachings of old do not impart the true mind, but merely reveal its natural luminosity.

Text 144b27

> *In relation to heaven and earth there is above and below; in relation to the sun and the moon there is east and west; in relation to the body there is this and that; in relation to the mind there is true and false. If there were not this and that, how could there be true and false?*
>
> *Therefore things are transformed in response to [the movements of] the emotions, and the emotions shift following [the transformation] of things. The inner and the outer agitate each other -- consciousness and objects gallop along together. Their birth yields man, and their death yields the ghost. [Man and ghost] resemble one another and succeed one another [but they are no more real than the] bodily form which appears in a dream. In*

reality, that is not this, and this is not that. Like the patterns traced by birds [as they fly through the empty] sky, the manifestations [of form] are rare and wonderful, difficult to conceive, and difficult to envisage.

The retribution of yin and the bestowal of yang -- the Dark Way is devoid of images. Cause and effect are yoked to one another; the ensuing phenomena are but magical apparitions. So many forms and appearances -- like the shimmering water [seen in the desert] or the [magical] city of the Gandharvas. They are all but appearances devoid of reality, and are deemed untrue, but they [nevertheless] delude and confuse people. The principle of the clear void is ultimately free of bodily form.

Commentary:

◇ *Ghost* (hun 魂): Technically the hun is the "spiritual" or "ouranic" soul(s) of man which survives death to wander the earth or ascends to the celestial realm. The hun is opposed to the p'o 魄 -- the "vegetative" or "chthonic" soul(s) -- which remains in the vicinity of the body or descends into the earth after death. The separation and dispersion of the various souls brings about death, and the focus of Taoist yogic and macrobiotic regimens was to keep these souls together and working in harmony. In the present context hun refers generically to the form of the individual, the "ghost," which survives the death of the body.[63]

◇ *Like the patterns traced by birds [as they fly through the empty] sky* 鳥跡空文: "The tracks of a bird in the empty sky" is a common image in Buddhist and Ch'an literature for the "ungraspablility" (Sk. anupalabdhi) of things.[64] Here it refers to the fact that the patterns traced by birds in the sky are imaginary, being empty of enduring or substantial substance.

◇ *The retribution of yin and bestowal of yang* 陰報陽施: According to Morohashi yin-pao refers to "hidden retribution" (MH 11.849a), though it is also possible to read pao 報 as equivalent to pao 保, which would yield: "the yin preserves and the yang bestows." The term yang shih 陽施 refers to the yang-breath (yang-ch'i 陽氣) which breathes life into the myriad animated things (MH 11.932c).

◇ *The Dark Way is devoid of images* 冥道罔象: Ming tao 冥道 alludes to the realms of the underworld, the dark world of death. The term wang hsiang 罔象 is problematic. The passage may involve an oblique reference to a story found in the Chuang-tzu which is alluded to in a variety of Buddhist materials, including the Chao lun 肇論 and the Hung-chih ch'an-shih huang-lu 宏智禪師廣録.[65] The story in the Chuang-tzu concerns hsiang-wang 象罔, a fabulous invisible creature who alone is able to recover the Sublime Pearl 玄珠 lost by the Yellow Emperor on his journey north of the Red Water.[66] In later Chinese tradition the term wang-hsiang denotes a variety of mountain dwelling nature spirits, similar to the wang-liang mentioned above (PTL 143c24; see Kiang 1975: 168-216).

◇ *Like the shimmering water [seen in the desert] or the [magical] city of the Gandharvas* 焔水乾城: The "shimmering water" (Sk: mṛga-tṛṣṇâbhâsa), and the "city of the Gandharvas" (Sk. gandharva-pura) are both standard Buddhist metaphors for illusion. It is perhaps significant that the abbreviated forms found in the PTL, yen-shui 焔水 and kan-ch'eng 乾城, are those found in the T'ang Laṅkâvatâra, but not in the two earlier Chinese translations of the same sûtra.[67] This lends some support to the thesis, examined in chapter 1 of this study, that the author of the PTL was familiar with the Siksânanda translation of the Lankâ.

◇ *They are all but appearances devoid of reality* 都無實現: The tou 都 may be a pun meaning both "all [phenomena]" as well as "city," picking up on the reference to the illusory city of the Gandharvas.

Text 144c6

There are those who possess the supernatural powers of transformation and ascend to heaven like dragons, and there are those who cover the cosmos like the gathering of clouds. But [such skills] should neither be valued nor held up as ultimate. To cling to them as if they were real is not the Way. Some may possess a handsome appearance, and some may possess facility in words and debate; some may be wise and intelligent, and some may be skilled craftsmen. But it is wrong to cling to any of these as comprising the Way. To possess [these talents] is not ultimate, and [the skill] to engage in them will not last. If even heaven and earth decay, how could vessels and objects [i.e., men and their accomplishments] endure?

Only the Way is without origin, empty, lucid, and eternally present. Only the Way is without essence, subtle, abstruse, and eternally true. Only the Way is devoid of phenomenality. From the ancient past down to the present, it has always been esteemed. Only the way is without mind. The myriad things are perfect and complete. Therefore the Way is without marks, free from form, without phenomenality, intention, or mind. It is of excellent advantage to many classes of beings, and of benefit to the moral relations among men. It can be said that all things submit to the Way.

Commentary:

◇ *There are those who possess the supernatural powers of transformation and ascend to heaven like dragons, and there are those who cover the cosmos like the gathering of clouds* 神通變化者 其猶於龍昇天 覆宇宙者其猶於雲凝: The spiritual accomplishments alluded to above are of the type generally associated with the Taoist path to sagehood. Shen-t'ung pien-hua 神通變化 is a technical Buddhist term (Sk. ṛddhy-abhisaṃskâra,

rddhi-prâtihârya) referring to the power of a Buddha or adept at samâdhi to magically assume different forms. The notion of "pervasion of the spirit" (shen-t'ung) is also, however, prevalent in Taoist literature, including texts associated with ch'ung-hsüan exegesis.[68] The phrase "ascending to heaven like a dragon" is a reference to the characterization of Lao-tzu found in his biography in fascicle 63 of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Shih-chi. After a meeting with Lao-tzu, Confucius is reputed to have said:

> I know that birds can fly, fish can swim, and animals can run. Whatever runs can be trapped with nets; whatever swims can be caught with fishing lines; whatever flies can be shot with arrows. But as for dragons, I do not know how they ride the wind and clouds and soar in the sky. Today I saw Lao-tzu. Is he not like a dragon? 吾今日見老子其猶龍邪[69]

In medieval Taoist hagiography, the ability to ascend to heaven, ideally in broad daylight accompanied by one's entire household, demonstrated one's achievement of the most exalted stage of transcendence and immortality (hsien 仙). I have not been able to trace the origin of the image "covering the cosmos like the gathering of clouds," although the Huai-nan-tzu does contain a reference to the Tao "covering heaven and bearing the earth 覆天載地" (MH 10.315).

◇ *Without mind* (wu-hsin 無心): This term, which occurs repeatedly below (145b21, 146b8, 146b17, 147b8, etc.), can be traced to the Chuang-tzu (29/12/6), and is central to early attempts to explicate Buddhism through the use of indigenous Chinese terminology. The term is well attested in Ch'an materials, yet it never wholly loses its Taoist flavor and is characteristic of the kind of Buddhist "technical term" in which elements from the Chinese Taoist and Indian dhyâna metaphysical systems are conflated.[70]

◇ *Excellent advantage* (shan-li 善利): This Buddhist term is commonly used in such sûtras as the Vimalakîrti and the Lotus to refer to

merits obtained from the possession or recitation of a particular sûtra, from meeting a Buddha or particular bodhisattva, and so on.[71]

◇ *All things submit to the Way* 一切物無不賓: This is an allusion to Tao-te ching 32: "The way is forever nameless. Though the uncarved block is small, no one in the world dare claim its allegiance. Should lords and princes be able to hold fast to it, the myriad creatures will submit of their own accord 萬物將自賓" (trans. Lau 1963: 91).

Text 144c14

> *The myriad things all have their companions; only the Way stands alone. There is no other beyond it, and nothing further within. No inside and no outside, it encompasses the Great Unity, envelops the eight seas, and fully provides for the myriad things.*

Commentary:

◇ *The Great Unity* (t'ai-i 太一): This term is both a common epitaph for the Tao itself, as well as the name of a specific Taoist divinity (see also below 145a27-28). Its use as an epitaph is due largely to its appearance in the Chuang-tzu ("The Great Unity is empty of form 太一形虛"), though it is found in other pre-Han materials as well.[72] Notable is the following passage in chapter 5 of the Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu:

> Grand Unity 太一 gives forth two principles [heaven and earth];
> [And] these two principles give rise to yin and yang.
> The yin and yang are transformed further,
> One going up and the other down.
> [At first] united and yet complete in a state of chaos;
> [Constantly] separating and then returning to unity.
> Uniting and then returning to separation.
> This is called Heaven's Constancy . . .
> All the Ten Thousand Things are that which were created from the Grand Unity;
> And are transformed by yin and yang. (Girardot 1983: 55)

Grand Unity appears as the name of a specific deity in the Ch'u-

tz'u, which dedicates the famous "nine songs" to a cluster of gods of which Tung-huang T'ai-i 東皇太一 is chief.[73] By the Han, the deity T'ai-i is closely associated with the star Polaris in Ursae Minoris, and this association continues throughout the medieval period where the god T'ien-huang Ta-ti 天皇大帝 (manifest as Polaris or tzu-wei 紫微), is considered the "secret embryo and quintessence" of the Great Unity.[74]

Cammann, in her study of the "magic square" known as the lo-shu 洛書, reconstructs the history of the cult of T'ai-i in the early Han (Cammann 1961: 60-76). Han Wu-ti engaged in regular sacrifices to T'ai-i starting in 124 B.C., and by 113 B.C. T'ai-i became the focus of state worship. The Taoist cult of T'ai-i was to flourish again under imperial patronage in the T'ang during the time of Amoghavajra (705-774), i.e., precisely around the time of the composition of the PTL.[75] Finally, T'ai-i is closely associated with the Three Ones, or the Three Primordial Breaths (san-i 三一), which are the focus of the Taoist meditation practice of "guarding the One" (shou-i 守一, see Robinet 1989: 179). More will be said in regard to the Three Ones below in connection with the phrase "guard the truth and embrace the One" (145a27).

◇ *Envelops the eight seas* (pa ming 八冥): The "eight" refers to the "eight directions," while ming 冥 is here interchangeable with ming 溟, "sea." The compound is found in the Hung-ming chi 弘明集 meaning simply "the world" or "the cosmos."[76]

Text 144c16

> *As for its physical state* 狀, *it [cannot be described as being either] inner or outer, small or large, unified or differentiated, bright or dark. It is not born nor does it pass away, and it is neither coarse nor fine. It is not empty, but neither is it extant. It is not open or closed, superior or inferior, formed or decayed. It neither moves nor is it still; it does not return nor does it depart; it is neither deep nor shallow, ignorant nor wise,*

contradictory nor facilitating, pervading nor obstructed. It is not impoverished or opulent, new or old, good or bad, hard or soft. And it is neither alone, nor does it face another.

The reason is as follows: call it inner and it pervades and embraces the dharma realm, yet call it outer and it provides for all as the bearer of form. Call it small and it encompasses that which is most distant, yet call it large and it once again enters the realm of the infinitesimal. Call it unified and each [aspect] bears its own substance, yet call it differentiated and its ethereal essence is devoid of any thing. Call it bright and it is dark and obscure, yet call it dark, and it shines brightly with penetrating brilliance. Say it is born and it is without either a physical state or form, yet say it passes away and now, as in the past, it is perpetually numinous. Call it coarse and it pierces a mote of dust,[77] yet call it fine and it looms high as a lofty mountain. Call it empty and a myriad functions lie within, yet call it extant and it is deserted and devoid of countenance. Call it open and it does not enter into defilement, yet call it closed and limitless meanings issue forth. Call it superior and it is uniform and without attributes, yet call it inferior and there is nothing to which it can be compared. Call it formed and it shatters and is scattered like the many stars, yet call it decayed and, preserving the past, it is always present. Say it moves and it remains firmly planted, yet call it still and, in a flurried commotion, things are aroused. Say it returns and it departs without a word, yet say it departs and, responding to things, it comes from afar. Call it deep and it is supported equally by any of the myriad things, yet call it shallow and its roots are beyond reach. Call it ignorant and it utilizes a myriad paths of its own devising, yet call it wise and it remains quiescent and still without excess. Call it contradictory and it is both faithful and dependable, yet call it facilitating and there is nothing that can harness it. Call it pervading and it does not reach the subtle

traces, yet call it obstructed and it enters and exits [that which is] empty of form. Call it impoverished and it [possesses] a myriad virtues and a thousand treasures, yet call it opulent and it is desolate and deserted. Call it new and its origins lie in its own ancient past, yet call it old and it is tarnished by nothing. Call it good and it ensures nothing, yet call it corrupt and things have always relied on it. Call it hard and it is crushed without injury, yet call it soft and its strength submits without weakness. Say it is alone and its family is as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, yet say it faces another and it is truly single like a solitary hub.

Commentary:

This list of negatives employs a literary strategy common to Chinese "mystical" writings. See, for example, the description of "spirit" (shen 神) in the Nei-kuan ching 内觀經, an anonymous T'ang Taoist scripture: "Spirit is neither black nor white, neither red nor yellow, neither big nor small, neither short nor long, neither crooked nor straight, neither soft nor hard, neither thick nor thin, neither round nor square . . . It greatly encompasses heaven and earth, subtly enters the tiniest blade of grass."[78] And the Pen-chi ching, examined above in connection with ch'ung-hsüan thought, employs the same literary device in its description of the "nature of the Tao" (tao-hsing 道性):

> The nature of the Tao is the emptiness of true reality. It is neither empty nor not empty, nor is it not not empty. It is neither a dharma, nor is it not a dharma, neither a thing nor not a thing, neither a person nor not a person, neither a cause nor not a cause, neither a result nor not a result, neither a beginning nor not a beginning, and neither an end nor not an end. It is neither a root nor a branch, and yet is the foundation of all dharmas. It neither produces nor creates, and is called non-action. (Wu 1960: 99)

◇ *Call it inner and it pervades and embraces the dharma realm, yet call it outer and it provides for all as the bearer of form. Call it*

small and it encompasses that which is most distant, yet call it large and it once again enters the realm of the infinitesimal 若言其内 通含法界 若言其外 備應形載 若言其小 包裹彌遠 若言其大 復入塵界: Kamata (1965: 328-329) has drawn attention to the similarity between this passage and the final lines of the Hsin-hsin ming, and the apparent Hua-yen influence. See chapter 1 section G for a full discussion of such parallels and possible lines of influence.

◇ *Bearer of form* (hsing tsai 形載): This phrase recalls the "Great Clod" of the Chuang-tzu who "burdens me with form 載我以形, labors me with life, eases me in old age, and rests me in death."[79]

◇ *Its origins lie in its own ancient past* 自古宿因: Su-yin 宿因 is a Buddhist technical term for the reservoir of karma remaining from a previous incarnation, the seeds planted in a previous life which may bear fruit in this existence.

◇ *Solitary hub* (ku-ku 孤轂): See the Tao-te ching 11: "Thirty spokes share a *single hub*. Adopt the nothing therein to the purpose at hand and you will have the use of the cart. 卅輻共一轂 當其无 有車之用" (trans. Lau 1963: 67).

Text 145a14

> *Thus there is no single word with which to describe the Way, and there is no single understanding* 義 *by which the principle can be proclaimed. How could one possibly exhaust its extent in such a summary exposition. Therefore, by cutting off the head and reducing the body to ashes, one does not thereby cause any injury to life. Nor can one nourish life through [ingesting] golden elixirs or jade ambrosia. Therefore, true life knows no annihilation and true annihilation knows no life. This can be called eternal life and eternal annihilation.*

Those who crave life and loath annihilation have not awakened 悟 *to eternal annihilation. Those who crave annihilation and loath life have not awakened to eternal life. Their understanding of the two terms is confused, and they do not apprehend the true wholeness [of life and annihilation]. Their impulse to cling or reject follows [the whim] of their empty and deluded emotions. Therefore do not ascribe existence to what is eternally empty, and do not ascribe emptiness to what is eternally extant. The two are not opposites. All such phrases are [mere] doctrines* 句句皆宗.

Therefore the sage, following existence, makes existence his Way, and, following emptiness, makes emptiness his Way. Emptiness is not contrary to existence, nor is existence contrary to emptiness. There is no inherent malady 病 *in the two words, and the meaning of both pervade each other. This is so even when we come to speak of "self" which is not contrary to "non-self," and "phenomena" which is not contrary to "non-phenomena." Therefore, transformation does not come about through words and utterances.*

Commentary:

◇ *Golden elixirs or jade ambrosia* (chin-tan yü-i 金丹玉液): This phrase is a somewhat generic reference to Taoist alchemical substances used to prolong life and attain immortality. Such substances are typically divided into two broad categories: (1) internal substances associated with "inner alchemy" (nei-tan 内丹) involving the manipulation of the semen (ching 精), the various breaths (ch'i 氣), and so on, and (2) external substances associated with "external alchemy" (wai-tan 外丹) such as potable gold, cinnabar, and the like. Yü-i is a similarly generic term for "elixirs of immortality," though it may also, depending upon context, specifically denote such substances as potable gold, potable jade, or saliva. In the present case the phrase invokes the whole panoply of Taoist alchemical elixirs.[80]

◇ *Therefore do not ascribe existence to what is eternally empty, and do not ascribe emptiness to what is eternally extant. The two are not in opposition* 故常空不有常有不空 兩不相待: Life is not at odds with emptiness, nor is emptiness attained through the extinction of life. In other words, do not confuse the annihilation of the body with emptiness. Emptiness is neither identical with, nor the opposite of, existence or being.

The discussion here concerns the opposition of "emptiness" (k'ung 空) and "existence" (or "being" yu 有), rather than the more classically Buddhist opposition between "emptiness" and "form" (se 色) with which the text opened. To the extent that the PTL can be said to display some degree of philosophical consistency, this passage represents its underlying ontology. It is a critique of an understanding of "existence" and "emptiness" that would make of them two ontologically distinct realms.

Chinese metaphysical speculation on the nature of "emptiness" and "being" is commonly traced back to the child prodigy Wang Pi 王弼 (226-249).[81] Wang Pi's commentary to the Tao-te ching, and to a lesser degree his commentary to the I ching, is concerned with the exegesis of the terms wu 無, and yu 有 -- "non-being" and "being." For Wang Pi "non-being," although properly beyond description, was nonetheless identified as the "ontological source" of all being -- the Tao itself. "Non-being" is the creative source from which all phenomena originate; it is both temporally and logically prior to "being" and thus stands at the forefront of hsüan-hsüeh philosophical speculation. Some sinologists, Zürcher included, trace the dualism of "substance" and "function" (t'i 體 and yung 用) back to Wang Pi's commentary to Tao-te ching 38. Zürcher claims that the analogy, "being" is to "non-being" what "function" is to "substance," implies that for Wang Pi, "'being' and 'non-being,' though different, do not form a pair of mutually exclusive opposites" (1972: 87). Even if we grant Zürcher's reading of Wang Pi, there is little doubt that wu was conceived of in "ontological" terms.[82]

My intention in presenting this admittedly oversimplified sketch of Wang Pi is to draw a contrast between hsüan-hsüeh notions of "non-being" and the Indian Mâdhyamika rhetoric of "emptiness." Nâgârjuna is still the focus of controversy among scholars in the West. In the last few decades however, an (admittedly shaky) consensus of opinion is emerging on the nature of the Mûla-madhyamaka-kârikâ and the meaning of the term śûnyatâ. According to this consensus, Nâgârjuna's arguments concern the nature of language and predication, rather than ontology or metaphysics in the Aristotelian sense. This approach to Nâgârjuna, found in the writings of Robinson (1976), Gimello (1976a), and Gudmunsen (1977) among others, has considerable persuasive force, and stands in marked contrast to the earlier work of Stcherbatsky (1923) and Murti (1960).[83] This linguistic reading of the Kârikâs insists that "emptiness is not a term in the primary system referring to the world, but a term in the descriptive system (meta-system) referring to the primary system. Thus it has no status as an entity, nor as the property of an existent or an inexistent" (Robinson 1976: 43). Emptiness is always emptiness of form, or of phenomena. All phenomena, to use the classical formula, are dependently originated, and therefore are empty of own-being. Thus "emptiness," to paraphrase Wittgenstein, is not a "something" about which either something or nothing can be said; predication does not "work" by referring to discrete objects or facts which "ground" the predication in an ontologically extant subject. The perceived subject of predication is thus said to be empty.

As should be evident, the domain in which the dialectic of śûnyatâ and rûpa function has little in common with the "being" and "non-being" of the hsüan-hsüeh aficionados. Whereas the Chinese wu and yu refer to different ontological realms, śûnyatâ and rûpa properly belong to two different logical categories (see below). This distinction was not immediately evident to the early exegetes of the Six Dynasties, who tended to use the terms wu and k'ung somewhat interchangeably, to refer to the source from which all "being" emerges. (Note that wu was initially used to translate not only śûnyatâ but also abhâva.) Kumârajîva is often

credited with bringing an end to such misunderstandings of Mâdhyamika, yet it would seem that the tendency to reify śûnyatâ (k'ung) continued throughout Chinese Buddhist history.[84] This reification is not, of course, an exclusively Chinese trait; the Chinese were themselves encouraged by the development of certain Indian strands of vijñânavâda and tathâgatagarbha thought. Such traditions exhibited a marked tendency to reify and exalt the absolute under a variety of rubrics, including dharmakâya, dharmadhâtu, âlayavijñâna, amalavijñâna, parinispanna-svabhâva, tathâgatagarbha, and of course śûnyatâ.

Given the complex intellectual history of the terms yu and wu, it is difficult to determine the underlying ontology of the passage at hand. It is not simply a matter of choosing between a classical Mâdhyamika reading of the text, versus a Chinese hsüan-hsüeh style analysis. By the sixth century the Chinese had developed a certain facility with the hermeneutic of "substance" and "function," which, like the "emptiness" and "form" of Indian Mâdhyamika, clearly denoted two different logical categories in the "Rylean" sense.[85] This awareness of shifts in logical categories is also evident in the earlier writing of Fan Chen (Liang dynasty), an anti-Buddhist polemicist known for his Shen mieh lun 神滅論.[86] Fan develops his critique of Buddhist rebirth from the analogy that the soul is to the body what the sharpness of the blade is to the knife -- that is, as "function" (yung 用) is to "substance" (chih 質). Thus although the soul can be logically distinguished from the body, it is inseparable from it and perishes at death. The manipulation of such categories allowed the Chinese to bring two apparently opposing terms or concepts into doctrinal accord, and indeed proved effective in eliminating troubling metaphysical and embarrassing doctrinal problems.[87]

Can the PTL be understood as placing k'ung and yu in different logical categories? The text is not sufficiently systematic to yield a definitive answer. However, the notion of logical categories renders sensible the claim that there is no opposition (or no interdependence,

liang pu hsiang-tai 兩不相待), between k'ung and yu. Any such opposition presumes a shared logical category; or conversely, opposition is not intelligible among entities of different logical classes. In so far as the hermeneutic categories of t'i and yung inform our text, it would seem reasonable to grant some degree of philosophical consistency to the PTL, even if the text is primarily a literary work and does not aim for logical rigor.

◇ *Therefore transformation does not come about through words and utterances* 以故不爲言語之所轉也: The meaning of the passage is straightforward enough, though the vocabulary -- yen-yü chih suo chuan -- is somewhat ironic given the later Ch'an conception of the "single transforming word" (i-chuan-yü 一轉語). Sasaki explains the latter as referring to "a word or phrase of deep significance or pertinence which reveals the speaker's degree of insight or which transforms the listener's mind at a crucial psychological moment" (1975: 82 n.174). This term appears in a variety of texts, which, despite attribution to T'ang masters, cannot be reliably dated earlier than the Sung.[88]

Text 145a24

When gold is cast into the shape of a man, one notices only the man, not the gold. This is to be confused with regard to designation, and ignorant with regard to attributes. Hasn't everyone lost sight of the truth in just this manner? Therefore everything is but illusion, vacuous delusion, and unreal. Know illusion as illusion, guard the truth and embrace the One; then you will not defile external things. The Great Unity -- clear and void -- how could it have any deficiencies?

Abandon mind! Destroy thoughts! Then the body 體 *will be free from all disease. When not a single attribute arises, both fortune and misfortune will be obviated. If fortune does not follow*

[misfortune], what could be deemed misfortune? Both fortune and misfortune [being co-dependent] lack all support.

Commentary:

◇ *When gold is cast into the shape of a man, one notices only the man, not the gold* 鑄金爲人 但觀其人 不覩其金: This analogy recalls the "Essay on the Golden Lion" (Chin shih-tzu chang yün-chien lei-chieh 金師子章雲間類解) attributed to Fa-tsang (643-712). According to tradition, the essay records a lecture delivered to the Empress Wu in 701 by Fa-tsang, in which he used a golden statue of a lion to illuminate aspects of Hua-yen philosophy.[89] The fifth of the "ten mysteries" (shih-hsüan 十玄) begins:

> If we look at the lion [as a lion], there is only lion and no gold. This is the disclosure of the lion but the concealment of the gold. If we look at the gold [as gold], there is only gold and no lion. This is the disclosure of the gold but the concealment of the lion. 若看師子 唯師子無金 即師子顯金隱 若看金 唯金無師子 即金顯 師子隱.[90].

Although the account of its composition may well be apocryphal, the essay is perhaps old enough to have been known to the author of the PTL. Note also the analogy of the chin-shih 金師 ("goldsmith" or "blacksmith") below (147b25, 147c4).

◇ *This is to be confused with regard to designation, and ignorant with regard to attributes* 其名也迷其相也惑: The image is referred to as that of a "person," and is perceived to possess the characteristics of a "person," yet in fact there is only gold.

◇ *Guard the truth and embrace the One; then you will not defile external things. The Great Unity -- clear and void -- how could it be lost?* 守眞抱一 不染外物 淸虛太一 其何有失: The phrase shou chen 守眞 can be traced to shou ch'i chen 守其眞 found in chapter 31 of the Chuang-tzu (87/31/31). Pao-i is found in the Chuang-tzu as well

(62/23/34), but is better known from *Tao-te ching* 10: "While bearing your bodily soul can you embrace the One without loosing it 載營魄抱一能無離乎?" Chapter 22 of the same text reads: "The sage embraces the One and thereby serves as a model for all under heaven 聖人抱一爲天下式." Wang Pi glosses the One in his commentary to *Tao-te ching* 10: "The One is that which is true in man 一人之眞也." The *locus classicus* for Taoist cosmological speculation on the One is *Tao-te ching* 42: "The Tao begets One; One begets two; two begets three; three begets the myriad things." The One thus occupies the medial position between the realm of non-being -- the Tao itself -- and the multifarious world of being. It shares in the transcendence and non-duality of the Tao, but at the same time may be "embraced" (*pao* 抱) or "held onto" (*shou* 守) by man.[91]

With the development of the Taoist high religion and the proliferation of Taoist deities the One came to be interpreted in diverse ways. It has been identified variously as the Tao itself, as the god Grand Unity (*t'ai-i*), as the Three Ones (*san-i*), as the deified Lao-tzu, and as the principal deity inhabiting the body, or one of the organs or "cinnabar fields" within the body.[92] The eighteenth chapter of the *Pao-p'u-tzu* manages to present the One simultaneously as metaphysical principle, creative force, Taoist deity, and object of contemplation (Ware 1966: 301-308). This conflation of contexts is typical of medieval Taoist rhetoric, and contributes to the polysemy of so many key Taoist terms.

More significant in the present context is the fact that "guard the truth and embrace the One" is related to the technical term *shou-i* 守一 ("guard the One"), an ancient expression which in time came to designate a host of Buddhist and Taoist meditation practices.[93] The phrase itself is usually traced to chapter 11 of the *Chuang-tzu*:

> Heaven and earth have their controllers, the yin and yang their storehouses. You have only to take care and guard your own body; these other things will of themselves grow sturdy. As for myself, I guard this unity 守其一, abide in this harmony, and therefore I

> have kept myself alive for twelve hundred years, and never has my body suffered any decay. (27/11/39; trans. Watson 1968: 120)

Shou-i has been employed by Taoist authors to refer somewhat generically to states of meditative trance or mystical rapture. But with the development of Taoist visualization practices during the Six Dynasties, "guarding the One" came to designate specific procedures wherein the adept would contemplate the Great Unity or the "Three Ones." The object of such practices was both to commune with the most exalted of the divine inhabitants of the body (a presiding trinity), and to assure their continued presence as their departure led to certain illness and death. The specific identity of the Three Ones varies according to textual tradition, and groupings include not only gods residing within the body, but also the three celestial divinities (*san kao-shang* 三高上 or *san kao-t'ien* 三高天), three astronomical bodies, three terrestrial gods, and so on. Indeed, one of the most important of these trinities is comprised of the god T'ai-i along with the gods of Heaven (T'ien-i 天一) and Earth (Ti-i 地一) (Cammann 1961: 62-63; Robinet 1989: 179).

The term *shou-i* appears extensively in *ch'ung-hsüan* writings as well, at times referring to the Three Ones, but elsewhere retaining the more generic sense of "concentrating on the Tao" (Robinet 1977: 149-191). Typical of the second tendency is the following explanation by Li Jung:

> When intention is free from bondage all thoughts are stopped: when neither within nor without there are any attachments, the mind is calm. The spirit concentrated on the Tao, the will applied without wavering is what we call guarding the One. (Kohn 1989a: 150)

This meaning of *shou-i* as "maintaining unity of mind" rendered it a natural indigenous equivalent for the Sanskrit terms *dhyâna*, *samâdhi*, and *smṛti*, in Chinese Buddhist writings.[94] The term is used as early as the Han, were it is found in meditation sûtras translated by Yen Fo-t'iao 嚴佛調 and An Shih-kao 安世高.[95] Indeed, the ubiquitous presence of "guard the One" in early Buddhist texts prompted T'ang Yung-t'ung to

suggest that the Taoists actually borrowed the term from the Buddhists, although evidence now indicates that the opposite was clearly the case.[96]

In the Sui and T'ang periods, the term "guard the One," and the related term "guard the mind" (shou-hsin 守心), were used extensively by teachers associated with the East Mountain school. The first term is used by the fourth patriarch Tao-hsin 道信 (580-651) to interpret dhyâna or samâdhi, and "guard the mind" is used in precisely the same manner by the fifth patriarch, Hung-jen 弘忍 (601-674).[97]

A number of scholars of early Ch'an have recently remarked on this use of shou-i by East Mountain teachers, and it need only be touched upon here (see note 89). McRae and Buswell have both commented on the manner in which the appropriation of a Taoist term for Buddhist meditation facilitated the advancement of Northern Ch'an subitist ideology. The i of shou-i was understood as referring to the pure Buddha-mind itself, and thus to "guard the One" was to make the absolute the content of one's meditation, and thus to dwell in the awareness that Buddha is mind itself. This is evident from the fact that "to guard the One" was treated as the equivalent of "to guard the mind." It would thus appear that the practice of shou-i, at least as interpreted by East Mountain teachers, "neither demanded the preparatory steps, such as observing moral injunctions, that typically preceded formal meditation practice in Indian Buddhism nor posited that the practice of shou-i invariably evolved through a graduated series of stages" (Buswell 1989: 142). Buswell concludes that "shou-i may be one of the first attempts within Ch'an to transform the Tathâgatagarbha ideology into a practical contemplative technique" (Buswell 1989: 144).

The appearance of shou-i in the Vajrasamâdhi-sûtra corroborates the importance of the term in early Ch'an circles.

> Taeryok Bodhisattva asked, "What do you mean by 'preserve the three and guard the One, in order to access the tathâgatadhyâna 存

三守一入如來禪'? The Buddha replied, "'Preserve the three' means to preserve the three liberations. 'Guard the One' means to guard the thusness of the one mind." (T.273: 9.370a24-26; trans. Buswell 1989: 219)

This appears to be the earliest reference to shou-i in any Ch'an related text, and this passage would certainly have bestowed legitimacy on a term whose Taoist provenance was no doubt appreciated. The fact that the Taoist practice of guarding the Three Ones is here reinterpreted as "preserving the three liberations" -- enumerated as the liberations of space (hsü-k'ung chieh-t'o 虛空解脫), vajra (chin-kang chieh-t'o 金剛解脫) and prajñā (po-jo chieh-t'o 般若解脫)[98] -- strongly indicates that this Buddhist appropriation of Taoist terminology may well have been self-conscious.

There is some evidence that the phrase "guard the One," closely associated as it was with East Mountain teachings, fell into disfavor with the eclipse of Northern Ch'an. Faure has found what appears to be a critical reference to "guarding the One" in the Hsin hsin ming 信心銘: "If there is even a trace of 'is' or 'is not,' the mind will be lost in confusion. Although the two comes from the One, do not guard even this One 才有是非 紛然失心 二由一有 一亦莫守."[99] But Faure goes on to cite PTL as evidence that even towards the end of the eighth century, shou-i "continued to be practiced in certain syncretic environments under the influence of Taoism and Ch'an" (Faure 1984: 868).

◇ For *Grand Unity* see note to 144c16 above. The entire phrase, *guard the truth and embrace the One, without being tainted by external things. The Great Unity -- clear and void -- how could it be lost?* is quoted by Tsung-mi in his Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao 圓覺經大疏鈔 ZZ.14.209a13-14.

Text 145b1

Direct access to the Way lies in remaining empty within and pure without, like water which is still and clear. Then the myriad schemata are radiant and bright, consciousness will not sink down, and the mind will not float away. Without emerging or entering, remain lucid, quiescent and natural. When there is no opposition between inner and outer, there is no barrier between consciousness and [external] things. Each is naturally endowed with the One -- what further use could there be for words?

Fire does not depend upon the sun for its heat, nor does the cool of the wind depend upon the moon. Solid stone rests in water, and light shines forth from the darkness of heaven. Light and darkness are self-so, dryness and moisture [are found in] the same place. If even things [such as these] do not impinge upon each other 不相借 *, then how much more so the Way.*

Commentary:

The thrust of the somewhat confused imagery of the preceding paragraph is the assertion of the self-sufficiency of things in the world, which reflect the self-sufficiency, or non-contingency of the Tao. Such an argument seems at odds with the Buddhist doctrine of dependent origination -- resulting in a conflation of native Chinese metaphysical notions which stress "substance ontology," and Indian Mahâyâna notions of emptiness, flux, and co-dependent origination.

◇ *Light shines forth from the darkness of heaven* 天瞽猶光: I take t'ien ku, literally "the blindness of heaven," to refer to the dark canopy of the sky, from which the light of the sun, moon, stars and planets issues forth. Koichi Shinohara, following MH 8.259d(5), has suggested that 天瞽 may be a variant for the homophone 天鼓, meaning

"thunder." The passage would then read "[lightning] shines from the [overcast darkness of] thunder."

Text 145b6

> *The king considers all as his own people.*[100] *The people take refuge in the king, and the king depends upon his people. The accord [between ruler and subjects] creates a unity whose name is Buddha. He alone is honored in the triple realm and is fully awakened to nothingness. He creates without creating,*[101] *and his creation is whole and complete. He is the teacher of gods and men, fully omniscient, who through the manifestations of his expedient response-body guides all who are ill to the essential tranquillity of empty non-existence. He is the sun of radiant and transcendent wisdom, universally illuminating the ten directions. He treats the superior and the inferior as equally blessed, and does not differentiate with regard to persons, defilement, meaning or cause. His wholly pervasive singular body is everywhere the same and non-dual, and may be called the Truth of the Great Schemata. But since this principle is difficult to perceive, he provisionally establishes expedient devices, and resorts to many exacting words and discourses. Thus he is made manifest in reliance upon existing things.*

Commentary:

This is the closest the PTL comes to presenting an explicit "Buddhology." It begins with an analogy of the relationship of a king to his subjects, where the king represents the Tao or the realm of the transcendent and the people represent the phenomenal world. The Tao transcends the realm of appearances, and yet at the same time is inextricably involved in it as creator and sustainer. The unity of the King and his subjects, or the transcendent and the phenomenal, embracing all reality, is designated "Buddha," which in scholastic terminology would

be understood as the dharmakâya Buddha. The rhetoric which follows is a blend of classical Buddhist descriptions of the Buddha (he "alone is honored in the triple realm," he is "teacher of Gods and men") and classical Taoist descriptions of the Tao ("creates without creating"). But underlying the passage we can discern the outlines of buddhakâya theory, as seen in terminology such as "expedient response body" (ch'üan-ying-hsing 權應形), and "wholly pervasive singular body" (yuan-t'ung i-shen 圓通一身) which is "everywhere the same and non-dual." The term ch'üan-ying 權應 occurs in the Shih-lao chih 釋老志 by Wei Shou, where it is used as a rough equivalent for the ying-shen or nirmâṇakâya. Wei Shou explains the "body of expedient response" as but one aspect of the absolute dharmakâya. The absolute in substance is ever quiescent, but produces expedient manifestations in the world in response to the needs of unenlightened beings. The passage in the Shih-lao chih is particularly important for the manner in which it explicitly links the notion of multiple bodies with the principle of kan-ying or "stimulus and response." See chapter 3 section J for a full discussion of the Chinese understanding of Buddha-body theory.

◇ *Fully awakened to nothingness* 覺了無物: The term wu-wu 無物 (literally: "no thing" or "without things") is used frequently throughout the PTL. The term is originally of Taoist provenance, and can be traced back to the Tao-te ching 14: "Boundless, and infinite, it cannot be named, and again returns to nothingness. This is called the form of no-form, the image of nothingness 繩繩不可名 復歸於無物 是謂無狀之狀 無物之象." It is also found in the Chuang-tzu (4/2/34, 75/27/8), and is common in early Chinese Buddhist compositions such as the Chao-lun (T.1858: 45.152b6, 154a22). But it seems to have been particularly favored by the authors of early Ch'an materials. In the Ch'uan fa-pao chi 傳法寶紀, the earliest of the surviving "transmission texts" of the Ch'an tradition, we read: "Vast, with no boundaries, empty and devoid of things -- this is called the ethereal 邈然無際 空然無物 是謂妙物" (Yanagida 1967: 570). And in the Tsu-t'ang chi we find the term appear-

ing in what is purportedly an early exchange between Ta-tien Pao-t'ung 大顛寶通 (n.d.) and his teacher Shih-t'ou 石頭 (700-790):

> Shih-t'ou said, "How would you manifest my mind?" [Ta-tien] replied: "No different from [Shih-t'ou]!" Shih-t'ou said: "And before you appeared?" [Ta-tien] replied: "Originally there is no thing 無物." Shih-t'ou said: "You are also no thing." [Ta-tien] replied: "No thing is then the true thing 眞物." Shih-t'ou said: "The true thing cannot be attained. The perceiving and reasoning activity of your mind is just like this."[102]

The term wu-wu is also related to the compound wu-i-wu 無一物, a term frequently found in eighth-century Ch'an related texts, including the Wu fang-pien 五方便, and the Fa-chü ching shu 法句經疏.[103] Interestingly, this phrase "reappears" in a later version (850s ?) of the Platform Sûtra, in the third line of Hui-neng's famous verse on bodhi:

> Bodhi originally has no tree.
> The bright mirror also has no stand.
> Fundamentally there is not a single thing.
> Where could dust arise?
> 菩提本無樹 明鏡亦非臺 本來無一物 何處塵埃[104]

Text 145b13

The desire to exteriorize is itself defilement, the desire to interiorize is itself the body, and the desire to apprehend 聞 *is itself the mind. The realm of desire is [produced through] clinging to defilement, the realm of form is [produced through] reliance upon physical identity, and the realm of non-form is [produced through] dependence on the calculating mind. To extinguish all three is called the Truth of the Way, and to extinguish this Truth is the Way itself. Yet even this Way is an expedient device and not yet correct.*

Empty and deluded -- the three realms are unreal. Illusions and dreams -- the six realms are nothing. Not rejecting a single dharma, not attaining a single dharma, not cultivating a single

dharma, not realizing a single dharma -- the natural purity of heaven's truth -- this is the Great Way! Therefore, of those who discern all under heaven, there are none who are not realized men. Whosoever attains this principle is equal to the One Constant. Its study is invisible, and its attainment is subtle. It can be called vast and boundless and not easily known. Its knowledge is mastery and its transformations smooth.

Without mind there is yet movement and production -- production yet without intent. Without intent there is yet doing and nothing is left undone. When things are carried along by harmonious radiance there is nothing which can bind them.

Commentary:

The triad of body, mind and world are here understood as three species of desire. The triple world is associated with clinging and dependence, and the final term mentioned, tao-ti 道諦, is the standard translation of Sk. mârga-satya, the "truth of the path," i.e., the fourth of the noble truths.

◇ *Heaven's truth* (t'ien chen 天眞): This is a standard term in Buddhist materials for that which is "given by heaven," utterly untainted by human artifice, and thus comes close to our term "nature."[105] (See also 150a12.)

◇ *Realized men* (chen-jen 眞人, see also 149b19): This term owes its currency to Chuang-tzu chapter 6, which extols the virtues of the sage who lives in complete harmony with nature, utterly free of needs or concerns (15/6/4-16/6/20; trans. Watson 1968: 77-80). The term continued to be used as a Taoist epithet for the sage, but it also assumed a more technical usage as a designation for one of the positions in the divine hierarchy of the immortals.[106] In early translations of Sanskrit sûtras the term was employed to render the Sanskrit arhat, and it continued to

be used in Buddhist exegetical materials to refer to a Buddhist saint or sage (Nakamura 1981: 786). The term is favored by later Ch'an monks following the lead of Lin-chi 臨濟 (d.866) who coined the term "a true man without rank 無位眞人" to refer to the Buddha-mind itself.[107]

◇ *Its knowledge is mastery and its transformations smooth* 其知者師其化者夷: I interpret i 夷, here rendered by the English "smooth," following its usage in the Tao-te ching 53: "The Great Way is smooth and level, yet people prefer by-paths 大道甚夷而民好徑" (cf. chapters 14 and 41 in the same text).

Text 145b23

> *Within heaven and earth,[108] inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain. Consciousness and its objects shine numinously;[109] inner and outer are utterly empty, quiescent, still, and difficult to perceive.[110] It is styled[111] the "mystery of mysteries." Its skill reaches out beyond the [celestial palace] of Purple Subtlety, and its function resides in the very midst of empty non-existence. Unmoving among the many-faceted transformations, it is solitary and non-dual. It sounds, bringing forth wondrous reverberations; it appears, spewing forth iridescent displays; yet look as you will there is nothing to be found there. It is marvelously styled the "emptiness of emptiness." Its form is unseen -- only the sound lingers. Its countenance is unseen -- only the effects linger. The recondite and the manifest both shine brightly; things and principle both pervade the void. The dense phenomenal array [is comprised of] jeweled seals; the myriad images are but the true essential principle. When active there is form, and when quiescent there is darkness. Original purity is not lustrous, but the radiance of the natural perfection of dharmas surpasses that of the sun and moon, and its virtue surpasses that of the [heaven of] Great Clarity. The myriad things are uncreated; everything is without*

designation. The revolving transformations of heaven and earth occur spontaneously in every direction, and the wondrous functions are as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.

Commentary:

◇ *Within heaven and earth, inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain* 天地之内 宇宙之間 中有一寶 祕在形山 識物靈照 内外空然 寂寞難見 其號玄玄: In later Ch'an literature this would become the single most frequently quoted passage from the PTL. Ch'an exegetes identified the "singular treasure concealed in the form mountain" with the Buddha-mind hidden within the human body, and treated the entire phrase as a kung-an -- a concise formulation of doctrine which served as the object of contemplation, exegesis and debate. Later tradition records that Yün-men used it as such, and this indeed may be responsible in part for the fame of the quotation and the popularity of the PTL in the later Ch'an exegesis. There is, however, an earlier citation in the Tsu-t'ang chi 祖堂集 biography of Tung-shan Liang-chieh 洞山良价 (807-869) which mentions neither Seng-chao nor the PTL (2.63.1-2).

The passage does not appear in the Yün-men lu 雲門錄 itself, but a host of later Sung compilations recorded that Yün-men used the passage in his teaching. These texts include case 62 of the Pi-yen lu 碧巖錄 (T.2003: 48.193c23-25), the Hung-chih ch'an-shih kuang-lu 宏智禪師廣錄 (T.2001: 48.26c18-19), and the Ts'ung-jung lu 從容錄 (T.2004: 48.286c13-14), all of them major Ch'an and Zen works representing both the Lin-chi and Ts'ao-tung traditions.[112] In chapter 1 section A we saw how the Pi-yen lu and Ts'ung-jung lu passages associate this quote with an apocryphal story linking the composition of the PTL with the execution of Seng-chao. This would have contributed to the esteem in which the passage was held as it was disseminated throughout China and Japan via these major compilations.

Finally, the great Korean Son master Chinul 知訥 (1158-1210) quotes the passage in his Chinsim chiksol 眞心直說 (T.2019a: 48.1000c20-21), although he mistakenly attributes it to the Chao-lun. Buswell remarks that the PTL passage was used as a kongan in the medieval Korean Son tradition (1983: 168 and 188 n.46).

◇ *It is styled the "mystery of mysteries"* 其號玄玄: See note to 144a1 above.

◇ *Its skill reaches out beyond the [celestial palace] of Purple Subtlety* 巧出紫微之表: Tzu-wei 紫微 is the name of a star in the north portion of the big dipper, the home of T'ien-ti 天帝, the supreme celestial thearch. This stellar palace was thought to be similar to those found on earth. According to the Leng heng 論衡 of Wang Ch'ung 王充 (27-97),

> The location in the sky of a Sky Divinity is just like the residence of a king. The royal one resides within a double barrier, and so the divinity of the sky is suitably placed within a hidden and secret place. As the royal person resides within the buildings of a palace, so the sky too has its Grand Palace of Purple Tenuity 紫微宮. (trans. Schafer 1977: 47)

Schafer remarks:

> The "Purple Palace," as it was sometimes called for short, was the residence of Heaven's Illustrious Great Theocrat, who reveals himself as Yilduz [the star Polaris, Yilduz from Turkish yildiz "the Star"], which is itself, like him, the secret embryo and quintessence of the god Grand Monad [太一], revealed as Kochab [Ursae minoris]. Surrounding both of them and their attendants, was the Wall of Purple Tenuity, a circumpolar constellation of about 15° radius, largely composed of the stars of Draco. (1977: 47)

The term tzu-wei occurs in the third chapter of Lieh-tzu as the name for the residence of the thearch (Kobayashi 1967: 134) as well as in the Huang-t'ing ching (内22:13註, 内4:10註). In the present instance it designates an unimaginably distant place in the heavens.

◇ *Solitary and non-dual* 獨而無雙: See the discussion of the similar phrase 無伴無侶 above (143c15-16).

◇ *It is marvelously styled the "emptiness of emptiness"* 寄號空空: This parallels the previous 其號玄玄 above, and draws an interesting association between the Buddhist notion of the "emptiness of emptiness," and the Taoist "mystery of mysteries." See the discussion of the relationship between ch'ung-hsüan Taoism and Mâdhyamika Buddhism in chapter 1 section I.

◇ *The recondite and the manifest* 幽顯: This pairing is commonly used to refer to the general distinction between the realms of the invisible and the visible, the manifest and the hidden (MH 4.536). It is found used in precisely this manner in the Chao-lun: "Principle is without [any distinction between] the recondite and the manifest 理無幽顯" (T.1858: 45.159a13).

◇ *The dense phenomenal array [is comprised of] jeweled seals; the myriad images are but the true essential principle* 森羅寶印 萬象眞宗: The pao-yin 寶印 or "jeweled seals" are the symbols of the Buddhas or bodhisattvas, often sacred letters, symbols or words enshrined on a stûpa. The term is also used to refer to the second of the three jewels (Sk. triratna), namely, the dharma.

The third chapter of the PTL quotes a line from an unidentified sûtra: "The dense phenomenal array and the myriad images are all the imprint of the single dharma 森羅及萬象 一法之所印" (148c1-2). This turns out to be taken from the apocryphal Fo-shuo fa-chü ching 佛說法句經 (sometimes referred to as the "Pseudo-Dharmapada"): "[All things in] the triple realm are only mind; the dense phenomenal array and the myriad images are all the imprint of the single dharma 故三界唯心 森羅及萬象 一法之所印.[113] This sentence is reproduced in numerous Ch'an-related texts, the PTL being the earliest. We find it, for example, in the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi (Yanagida 1971: 63) and the Ma-tsu yü-lu 馬祖語

錄 (Iriya 1984: 19), as well as in at least three other early Ch'an documents.[114] It is also quoted in Fa-tsang's 法藏 Wang-chin huan-yüan kuan 妄盡還源觀 (T.1876: 45; see Yanagida 1971: 67). But the later diffusion of the phrase is probably due in large part to its appearance in the Pi-yen lu (T.2003: 48.168c29 and passim.).

The fact that the term shen-lo 森羅 is used repeatedly in the PTL (see also 145c10, 146a10, 149b26, 150a14) is further evidence that the text was composed in a literary milieu with connections to Northern Ch'an. Although difficult to translate, the term refers to the manifold array of phenomena comprising the world of being, all of which are born of the "absolute," whether it be called the Tao, the "single dharma," or the Buddha-mind (Yanagida 1971: 67; Iriya 1984: 21).

◇ *The [heaven of] Great Clarity* (t'ai-ch'ing 太清): The term "great clarity" probably has its origins in the Chuang-tzu (37/14/15 and 89/32/22), but in the Six Dynasties it came to refer to a specific celestial realm in Taoist cosmology. The T'ai-ch'ing is one of the "three purities" -- higher paradises to which immortals may ascend at death -- which are situated directly beneath the highest heaven of all, Ta-lo 大羅.[115] According to some sources, Lao-tzu himself presides over this realm, dwelling in the palace known as the T'ai-ch'ing kung 太清宮 (Benn 1977: 209). Ko Hung, in describing the miraculous methods by which immortals travel, says:

> Some build a flying vehicle from the pith of the jujube tree and have it drawn by a sword with a thong of buffalo hide at the end of its grip. Others let their thoughts dwell on the preparation of a joint rectangle from five serpents, six dragons, and three buffaloes, and mount on this for forty li to [the heaven] Great Clarity 太清. In Great Clarity the atmosphere 氣 is very dense and capable of supporting people.[116]

The term appears in chapter 2 below (146a28), where it is apparently used as an epithet for the Tao itself, and is equated with the term "True Essence" (chen-ching 眞精, see also 150a15). Nonetheless,

the current somewhat metaphorical context suggests that "Great Clarity" refers to a distant celestial realm of unbounded virtue.

Text 145c2

Creation out of chaos! Who hears of it and does not think it excellent? Who hears of it and is not startled? How could this priceless treasure be hidden away within the depths of sentient existence? How tragic! How tragic that it be rendered worthless! How utterly distressing! How could that which is luminous bring forth such darkness? The treasure is brilliant and resplendent, shining throughout the ten directions, alone, quiescent, and unmoving. Its responsive activity is magisterial; its response to sound, response to form, and response to the Yin and Yang are extraordinary and without end. Empty, lucid, and eternal, it cannot be seen by straining the eyes, or heard by inclining the ear. Its origin lies in darkness; then changing, it assumes form. Its activity is holy and its function numinous. It can be called the essence of the Great Way. This essence is profoundly true; it is the cause of the myriad things, and is firm, and eternally abiding. As a moral constant it is equal to the Way itself.

Therefore the scripture says: "To the extent that one's mind is pure, the Buddha-land is pure." Endowed with a dense array of functions, it is called Holy.

Commentary:

◇ *Chaos* (hun-tun 混沌): This is a common term in early Taoist texts, occurring frequently in the Chuang-tzu, the Tao-te ching and the Huai-nan-tzu, where it is used to designate the natural or "primitive" state of affairs which characterized the world before the advent of class distinctions, hierarchical political structures, and human artifice -- what Needham calls "a state of pre-feudal collectivism" (1956:

115). As such it has a range of meanings including "turbid," "confused," "undifferentiated," "homogeneous," and so on. The mythic connotations of the term have been explored in a major study by Girardot (1983).

◇ *Priceless treasure* 無價之寶: The term "priceless treasure" (or "priceless jewel") is an allusion to the well-known parable from chapter 8 of the Lotus Sûtra:

> There is a man who arrives at the house of a close friend, where he gets drunk on wine, then lies down. At that time, his friend, having official business, is on the point of going away, when he sews a priceless jewel into the interior of the first man's garment and departs, leaving it with him. The first man, laid out drunk, is unaware of anything. When he has recovered, he sets out on his travels, then reaches another country, where he devotes every effort to the quest for food and clothing. He suffers such hardship that he is content with however little he may get. Then his friend, encountering him by chance, speaks these words to him: "Alas, Sir! How can you have come to this for the sake of mere food and clothing? Once I, wishing to afford you comfort and joy, as well as the natural satisfaction of your five desires . . . sewed a priceless jewel into the inside of your garment. Surely it is still there. Yet you, not knowing of it, have suffered pain and grief in quest of a livelihood." (T.262: 9.29a; trans. Hurvitz 1976: 164-165)

In the Lotus this parable occurs in the context of the prophecy of the eventual Buddhahood of the Arhats, who, like the poor man of the story, are content with what little [enlightenment] they have attained without realizing that the jewel of Buddhahood is always within reach. The "treasure" refers more specifically to the "Buddha-nature" or "Buddha-mind" possessed by all sentient beings.

◇ *Hidden away within the depths of sentient existence* 陰入之坑: The yin-ju 陰入 is a technical Buddhist compound referring collectively to the five "aggregates" (skandha) and the twelve "sense-fields" (âyatana). The five aggregates are collections of dharmas (the dharmas of form, perception, conception, volition, and consciousness), which in totality comprise the individual. The twelve sense-fields refer to the six sense

"bases" (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind) and their corresponding sense "fields." In a more contemporary jargon the compound might be rendered "psycho-physical existence."[117]

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "To the extent that one's mind is pure, the Buddha-land is pure"* 故經云 隨其心淨 則佛土淨: This is from the Kumârajîva translation of the Vimalakîrti (T.475: 14.338c). The passage was apparently known in early Ch'an circles, as it is also quoted in the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi (T.2837: 85.1283b; Yanagida 1971: 67).

Notes to Chapter 1 of the Translation and Commentary

1. Seidel 1983: 340. On the meaning of *pao* see also Benn 1977: 197-203; Kaltenmark 1960: 568-570; Robinet 1979a: 37-40; and Seidel 1981: 232-247.

2. See Seidel 1983: 338-340 for the lore surrounding the *T'ai-p'ing ching* 太平經 ("Scripture of the Great Peace") which was typical in this regard. It was precisely because such texts, which circulated among the initiated masses, were touted as tokens of divinely sanctioned imperial power, that they were so often proscribed by the Chinese court. Also see Kaltenmark's comments on the *Ling-pao* corpus (1960).

3. T.1857: 45.145b28. For *pao-yin* see the commentary to the translation below.

4. See for example the titles to the sûtras *Wen-shu-shih-li hsien pao-tsang ching* 文殊師利現寶藏經 (Sanskrit title restored from the Tibetan: *Ratnakâranda[kavyûha]sûtra*; T.461: 14) translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 in 270, and the *Tsa pao-tsang ching* 雜寶藏經 (T.203: 4) translated by Kekaya 吉迦夜 and T'an-yao 曇曜 in 472.

5. See Kaltenmark 1960: 576-580; and Bell 1988: 377.

6. See the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T.2076: 51.440c24 and passim, and the *Tsung-ching lu* 宗鏡錄, T.2016: 48.424c9 and 604a3. In the latter text *pao-tsang* is equated with the *tsung-ching* 宗鏡 -- the essential mirror -- which is the "one mind," pure and radiant. In this same text we find: "First one eradicates ignorance and sees the Buddha-nature, opens the Treasure Store and manifests True Thusness 初破無明見佛性開寶藏顯眞如" (T.2016: 48.633a11).

7. Silvio Vita suggests an emendation to preserve the symmetry of this opening passage, changing "That which has no form, the mother of [all] form 無色色之母" to "That which has no shape, the mother of all shapes 無形形之母" (Vita 1985: 5 n.7). The *PTL*, however, frequently breaks formal symmetry in just this way (see, for example, the opening to chapter 2, 145c13-16). Furthermore, this line from the *PTL* is found quoted in Yen Shou's *Tsung-ching lu* 宗鏡錄 and the excerpt is identical to that of our text (T.2016: 48.458b2-4). The pairing of "name" (*ming* 名) and "form" (*se* 色) recalls the technical Sanskrit pair *nâma-rûpa*, which plays a fundamental role in Buddhist abhidharma metaphysics.

8. For an extended discussion of the syntax of this first chapter of the *Tao-te ching* see Boodberg 1979: 460-480.

9. See especially the extended treatment in Zürcher 1980.

10. See Karlgren 1966, number 728a; and MH 10.657.

11. Schafer cites Needham, Siven, Nakayama, Porkert and others as contributing to the currency of the term "correspondences" (Schafer 1977: 292 n. 11).

12. Yang Chiung 楊炯, "Hun t'ien fu," CTW 190.2b; cf. I ching in TPYL, 1.8a (Schafer 1977: 292 n.9).

13. Chang Ch'ien 張謇 (T'ang), Ling kuai chi (Schafer 1977: 292 n.10).

14. T.1858: 45.158b5. See also the discussion of hsiang in the second essay of the Chao-lun, T.1858: 45.a10-12.

15. See for example 144a10: "the thousand facets of the images in the mirror 鏡象千端."

16. MH 1.977b; Maspero 1981: 465. For a discussion of the metaphysical sense of "breath" (ch'i 氣) see Feuchtwang 1974: 48-56. See also the useful note in Gregory 1981: 222-223.

17. Maspero 1981: 465-470; see also Engelhardt 1989.

18. The Yüan-ch'i lun is no longer extant as an independent work, but survives in chüan 56 of the Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 雲笈七籤. Maspero dates it to the late eighth or ninth centuries (1981: 466 n.27).

19. Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 56.8b and 12a; translation follows Maspero (1981: 465-466) with minor changes.

20. HY.833, f.571: 1a; translation from Kohn 1987b: 119. This text is also found in the Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 33.12a-14b. The traditional dates for Sun Ssu-miao are unreliable, as is the authenticity of the many texts attributed to him. For a critical study of his biography see Sivin 1968: 81-144.

21. T.1886: 45.707c-710c. For yüan-ch'i see especially 708a27 and 708b13-14. A major study and translation of the Yüan-jen lun may be found in Gregory 1981. Cf. the translation in de Bary 1972: 179-196.

22. T.1886: 45.708b13-28; trans. Gregory 1981: 228-246.

23. See below 144c1, 145b3, and perhaps 145c24 and 150a14).

24. In fact, I translate the expression wan-ling 萬靈, which occurs in chapter 3 (150a9), as "ten-thousand numinous spirits."

25. The ling-tso is mentioned in Sung ch'ing-kuei 清規 descriptions of the funeral rites for abbots. See, for example, the "passing of a venerable elder" (tsun-su ch'ien-hua 尊宿遷化) section of the Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei 禪苑清規, Kagashima et al. 1972: 259-260.

26. I owe this insight to conversations with Anna Seidel and Livia Kohn.

27. *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 說文解字, cited in *MH* 1.1001.

28. De Bary 1960: 192; cf. Legge 1967: 1.364, 366.

29. See also the discussions in Needham 1956: 107-115; and Girardot 1983.

30. The *Miao-sheng-ting ching* was discovered at Tun-huang and published by Sekiguchi (1969: 379-402). See also the discussion in Stevenson 1987: 19-22.

31. See the *Ch'ung yu lun* 崇有論 by P'ei Wei (267-300) quoted in his biography in the *Chin-shu* 35.5b ff. (Zürcher 1972: 349 n.25.)

32. Zürcher 1972: 87. See also Robinet 1977: 73-74.

33. See MH 2.827. The classical source for this mode of philosophizing is the *Cheng-ming* 正名 chapter of the *Hsun-tzu* 荀子. See Eno 1984: 408-411 for a detailed analysis of the logic of "rectifying names."

34. Bokenkamp, for example, describes the importance of five-phase thought in the soteriology of the Ling-pao school of Taoism (1983: 451-454).

35. Wu Chi-yu 1960: 99 and 108; Kamata 1965: 388, and 1968a: 128. On *tao-hsing* see chapter 1 section J of this study.

36. HY.1033, f.704. This text bears a number of striking terminological, stylistic, and conceptual similarities with the *PTL* (see Kamata 1963b). Although the *San-lun* 三論 or "three treatises" which forms part of the title might appear, at first glance, to be derived from the Buddhist "San-lun" school, in fact it refers to the three chapters which comprise the text: the "Tao-tsung chang 道宗章," the "Hsü-wang chang 虛妄章," and the "Chen-yüan chang 眞源章."

In both content and style, the *San-lun yüan-chih* bears an unmistakable resemblance to the scriptures which, according to Sunayama, are products of *ch'ung-hsüan* Taoism (see chapter 1 section H). Moreover, the *San-lun yüan-chih* directly quotes from two of the so-called "ch'ung-hsüan" texts: the *Pen-chi ching*, and the *Hai-k'ung ching* 海空經 (Kamata 1963b: 260). Although I have shown the historical reconstruction of a "ch'ung-hsüan sect" by Sunayama to be unfounded, it is clear that the *San-lun yüan-chih* is a product of the "gentry Taoism" which flourished under imperial patronage in the seventh and eighth centuries, and which gave rise to many of the works classified as "ch'ung-hsüan" on the basis of purely stylistic considerations.

37. Lamotte translates the same passage from the Tibetan: "You had not come and you come; you had not seen and you see" (Lamotte 1976: 116).

See also Lamotte's Mâdhyamika analysis of the exchange (1976: 116-117 n.6).

38. The phrase 外受五欲 is ambiguous, as the term *shou* 受 is polyvalent in Buddhist Chinese. It is found as a technical translation for both the Sanskrit *vedanâ* ("to feel," "react to") and *upâdâna* ("to grasp").

39. S.2295: 4-5; see Seidel 1969a: 61. This text probably dates to the Western Han.

40. See Robinet 1979a: 94 and passim; and Kohn 1989b: 217 n.53.

41. Among the many discussions on the term *li* in Chinese thought see Demiéville 1973f: 241-260; Chan 1964; Hurvitz 1968: 247-248; Zürcher 1972: 127-127; and Roth 1973: 94-107.

42. Gimello 1976a: 478. On Chih Tun's use of *li* see expecially Hurvitz 1968; and Roth 1973: 94-10.

43. Duke Hsüan, third year; see Legge 1961: 5.292-293. For a more detailed discussion of *wang-liang* see Kiang 1975: 72-73 and 168-216; Harper 1985: 479 n.56 and 481-482; and MH 12.692.

44. *Kuo yü* 國語 (SSPY ed.), "Lu yü" 魯語: 5.7a.

45. See the commentary to 144b26. See also Demiéville 1973c for a comparison of Taoist and Buddhist usages of mirror metaphors.

46. "Therefore the *[Book of] Changes* has the Great Ultimate. This gives rise to the two archetypes; the two archetypes give rise to the four schemata and the four schemata give rise to the eight trigrams. 是故易有大極 是生兩儀 兩儀生四象 四象生八卦 (*Hsi tz'u* 繫辭上, Honda 1978: 2.296). See also the translation and commentary by Honda (1978: 2.296-297), and by Wilhelm (1967: 318).

47. The term *t'ai-wei* is also used to refer to a "curved wall manned by high stellar officials, protectors of the royal person, composed of stars mostly in our constellation of Virgo" (Schafer 1977: 208). See also Benn 1977: 209-210.

48. See, for example, the Śikṣânanda translation of the *Laṅkâ*, T.672: 16.603b4 ff. Cf. the corresponding passage in Sanskrit, Nanjio 106, and the English translation in Suzuki 1978: 92. The *Laṅkâ* passage does not mention the "sound of the gong."

49. For an overview of the controversy surrounding the interpretation of these two terms see Welbon 1968: 208-220.

50. A full exposition is also found in the *Ta-ch'eng erh-shih-erh wen* 大乘二十二問 by T'an-k'uang 曇曠, a text roughly contemporary with the *PTL* although it originated in a very different geographical and cultural

milieu. The fifth of the twenty-two questions asks whether the distinction between the two nirvāṇas is real or conventional. After a full elucidation of nirvāṇa with and without residue, which leads to an enumeration of "four nirvāṇas," T'an-k'uang explains that while all four are based on true suchness 眞如, there is no essential distinction among them 體無差別 (Pachow 1979: 88).

51. T.2015: 48.405a21-23; see the edition and Japanese translation in Kamata 1971: 132; and the English translation in Broughton 1975: 196.

52. T.2003: 48.180c21-181c16. Note that where the PTL reads 過此二者謂之眞, the Pi-yen lu reads 過此二者是爲眞過.

53. T.2003: 48.181a3-8; cf. the Japanese and English translations in Asahina 1937: 2.119, and Cleary and Cleary 1977: 2.313. Yung-chia Hsüan-chüeh (665-713) is said to have spent only a single day "studying" with the Sixth Patriarch at Ts'ao-ch'i, and yet he received Hui-neng's sanction. His biography is found in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄, T.2076: 51.241a27-b15.

54. Trans. Lau 1963: 96. For a discussion of the term p'o as it occurs in the Tao-te ching see Lau 1963: 36-37.

55. It is used for the Sk. apekṣa, apekṣaṇa and apekṣita in the T'ang translation of the Laṅkā (Nakamura 1981: 869).

56. Edition, Iriya 1984: 24; cf. the translation in Pas 1987b: 87.

57. The PTL may be advocating the "non-arising of thought" popular in early Ch'an circles. See for example the Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü 禪源諸詮集都序, in which Tsung-mi defines the method of "sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation" (tun-wu tun-hsiu 頓悟頓修): "Hearing [the dharma] but once, [the man of superior capacity] has a thousand awakenings and obtains the great dhāraṇī. When not a single thought arises the boundary between before and after is cut off 一聞千悟得大總持一念不生 前後際斷" (T.2015: 48.407c26-27).

58. 國藏於佞 . . . 形藏於心 . . . The syntax of these parallel phrases is problematic. It would be tempting to read the second phrase: "When the [true] mind is concealed within form . . . " but this is difficult to justify, as the first phrase cannot be similarly reversed.

59. See, for example, Pao-p'u-tzu 15.8b-9b; trans. Ware 1966: 255-257.

60. HY.431, f.196; also contained in the Ch'üan t'ang wen 924.16a-b. See Fukunaga 1973: 59-65; and the brief comments in Benn 1977: 106-109; Kroll 1978: 18; and Schafer 1978-79. On the cosmology of ancient Chinese mirrors see also Loewe 1979: 60-85.

61. The outer rim of the mirror is circular, and the inner rim square, symbolizing heaven and earth. The configuration of lines within the

square depict the yin and yang; also manifest on the mirror are the sun, moon, stars, planets, five elements, and so on (HY.431, f.196.1a-b).

62. HY.431, f.196.1a3-9. My translation of this problematic passage follows, in part, the analysis by Fukunaga (1973: 61-63), and the translation by Benn (1977: 107). Fukunaga notes that this short work is replete with references to a host of Taoist classics, including the Pao-p'u-tzu, Lieh-tzu, Huai-nan-tzu, Tao-te ching, and the Chuang-tzu. He traces the expression ching pien 精變, which is our immediate concern here, to the Ta chuan 大傳 commentary to the I ching (see the edition by Honda 1978: 2.290-291). Both Fukunaga and Benn interpret ching in the sense of "essence," yet I believe the evidence in the present context warrants reading ching as referring to an "animate force" or "active spiritual agent" inhering in things.

63. For a discussion of the hun and p'o souls see esp. Loewe 1979: 9-10; Maspero 1981: 266-67 and passim; Needham 1974: 85-93; Schafer 1977: 176-180.

64. See, for example, the Tsu-t'ang ch'i 祖堂集, 1.162.8; and the Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡録, T.2016: 48.694c4-5. In the latter text the relationship of the activity of the bird to the sky is likened to that of the relationship between the activity of the âlayavijñâna 藏識 and the âlayavijñâna itself.

65. The story appears in Chuang-tzu 29/12/18-20; see the Japanese translation and discussion in Fukunaga 1978b: 13.179-180; and the English in Watson 1968: 128-129. See also the Chao-lun, T.1858: 45.153a22 (Tsukamoto ed. 1955: 1.23), and the Hung-chih ch'an-shih huang-lu T.2001: 48.118b, 275b and passim.

66. On the identity of wang-hsiang 罔象 and hsiang-wang 象罔 see Demiéville 1957: 229.

67. See Suzuki 1934: 63 and 362.

68. The locus classicus for the "pervasion of the spirit" in Taoist literature is the Chuang-tzu 29/12/14: "knowledge is pervaded by spirit 知通於神." For examples in the T'ang see the T'ien-yin-tzu 天隠子 (HY.1020, f.672; Kohn 1987a: 10 n.38), and section 19, now lost, of the Tao-chiao i-shu 道教義樞, which is entitled "The Six Pervasions" (liu-t'ung 六通).

69. Trans. Lin 1977: 147. This anecdote also appears in Chuang-tzu 39/14/61 ff., cf. Watson 1968: 163.

70. For an extended though somewhat "unrestrained" discussion of this term in both the Chuang-tzu and Ch'an, see Fukunaga 1969.

71. In the Vimalakîrti see T.475: 14.557a, 555c; in the Lotus see T.262: 9.16b, 19b, 22c.

72. Chuang-tzu 89/32/20; see also 93/33/56. Cf. Hsün-tzu 71/19/21, and 19/25-27.

73. See Hawkes 1985: 95-99. Hawkes mentions that the reference to t'ai-i may be an interpolation by Liu An, editor of the Huai-nan-tzu.

74. See Hawkes 1985: 61; Kohn 1989a 134-137; and Schafer 1977: 45 and passim. For the term tzu-wei 紫微 see the commentary to 145b25 below. The deity T'ai-i also appears under the name T'ai-i Chun 太一君 in the Huang-t'ing ching (内19:2註; 内23:3註; and 外3:68註).

75. Orzech 1989: 111. See also Kalinowski 1985.

76. T.2102: 52.76c15; see Makita ed. 1973-75: 3.624. The PWYF (1244a) cites a passage of a poem by Tu Fu 杜甫 (712-770) which seems to resonate with the PTL: "Peacefully enveloping the eight seas, the gentleman bathes heaven and earth 安得覆八溟 爲君洗乾坤."

77. Read tz'u 朿, and not shu 束.

78. HY.641, f.342: 2b; translation in Kohn 1989b: 207.

79. Chuang-tzu 16/6/24 and 17/6/57; trans. Watson 1968: 80 and 85. Hsing-tsai also occurs in the first chapter (T'ien-shui 天瑞) of the Lieh-tzu (Kobayashi 1967: 20-21).

80. General treatments of medieval Taoist alchemy can be found in Maspero 1981: 219-346; Needham 1983: 20-128; Sivin 1968; and Strickmann 1979b.

81. On Wang Pi see Fung 1953: 179-189; Hsiao 1979: 607-619; Lin 1977; and Rump 1979.

82. Friedrich believes that the use of t'i and yung to denote two logical categories did not develop until the sixth century, and only did so through the Chinese exegesis of Indian Buddhist logical formulations. I agree that there is little evidence that Wang Pi used t'i and yung to denote two logical categories or classes (Friedrich n.d.: 12-14). However, I find Friedrich's insistence that the fifth-century Buddhist usage of t'i and yung be understood in the light of early etymologies unconvincing. On "substance" and "function" see also Demiéville 1973e: 49-53, and Liebenthal 1968: 17 ff.

83. But note the recent cautionary comments by Swanson, who may be seen as articulating a "middle" position in this long-running debate:

> It is my contention that the concept of śûnyatâ does not exclude the possibility of speaking of an ontology, despite the conclusions of some eminent Western scholars. If one understands ontology to refer to substantial, eternal, never-changing, self-existent Being, then śûnyatâ certainly is an attack on all ontological concepts, for this is precisely what is denied. If,

> however, ontology deals with being and existence, with the objects of our experience, the reality (or unreality or imaginary nature) of our everyday mundane existence, then certainly one can . . . develop an "ontology of śûnyatâ." (Swanson 1989: 4-5)

84. The legacy of this tendency can be seen in contemporary Japanese Zen. Mu 無 is often used interchangeably with kû 空, and, thanks to later interpretations of Ta-hui, some talk of mu as if it were the "object" of the experience of satori 悟 or kensho 見性.

85. Ryle developed the notion of logical categories, and the corollary notion of the "category mistake" in his article "Categories" (1938). The idea has since proved influential in Anglo-American analytic philosophy and has been further developed by Ryle in a number of papers.

86. Preserved in the Hung ming chi 弘明集, T.2102: 52.55a-b. An analysis and translation of the Shen mieh lun can be found in Balazs 1964: 255-276. See also Ch'en 1952, and 1972: 138-142.

87. Gregory notes how Tsung-mi employs the "substance-function" paradigm in his critique of the Hung-chou school. Tsung-mi's use of the distinction allows him to "preserve an ethically critical duality within a larger ontological unity. While this paradigm overcomes the dualism of Northern Ch'an on the one hand, it also serves to avoid the radical non-dualism of Hung-chou on the other" (Gregory 1987: 304; the relevant passage is found in the Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖, Kamata 1971: 336).

88. See the Lin-chi lu 臨濟錄, T.1985: 47.503a22; the Wu-men kuan 無門関 T.2055: 48.293a21, 293a29, 294b11, 294c18, 295c16, 297c16, 298c25; and the Mu-chou yü-lu 睦州語錄, ZZ.118.113a13 and 115b4. The shortened form i-chuan 一轉 is found in the Yün-men lu 雲門錄, T.1988: 574a22 (App 1989: 336 n.1098).

89. Details concerning the composition of the essay are found in the Sung kao-seng chuan 宋高僧傳, T.2061: 50.732a-b.

90. T.1880: 45 (see also T.1881); translation by Chang, G. 1971: 228-229. Cf. translations by Bodde in Fung 1953: 339-359; and Chan 1963: 409-414.

91. See also the note to the term "True One" (chen-i 眞一) above (143c8).

92. On the "One" see especially Kohn 1989a; Buswell 1989: 138-140; Robinet 1977: 149-203, and 1979a: 183-212.

93. Detailed discussions of the term "guard the One" and the "Three Ones" can be found in Anderson 1979; Kohn 1989a; Maspero 1981: 272-283; Robinet 1977: 149-203, 1979a: 183-212, 1984: 30-32; and Yoshioka 1976a: 285-352.

94. For the Buddhist use of shou-i see especially Buswell 1989: 137-157; Chappell 1983: 96-100; Faure 1984: 858-872, and 1986: 112-114; Kohn 1989a: 152-154; McRae 1986: 138-144; and T'ang 1955: 71.

95. See, for example, the former monk's Fo-shuo p'u-sa nei-hsi liu po-lo-mi ching 佛說菩薩內習六波羅蜜經, T.778: 17.714b26-c1 (Buswell 1989: 140-141). Also note the use of the homophone shou-i 守意 in the title of An Shih-kao's An-pan shou-i ching 大安般守意經, T.602: 15.163a.

96. T'ang 1955: 71. Arguments against T'ang can be found in Faure 1984: 858 and 1986: 112-114; Kohn 1989a: 153.

97. Shou-i is found in Tao-hsin's Ju-tao an-hsin yao-fang-pien fa-men 入道安心要方便法門 (for textual details see chapter 2 n.39): T.2837: 85.1288a20-22 (cf. trans. in Chappell 1983: 114; and Buswell 1989: 142); and T.2837: 85.1288b16 (cf. Chappell 1983: 116; McRae 1986: 141; and Buswell 1989: 142). Shou-hsin 守心 appears in the Hsiu-hsin yao-lun 修心要論 (attributed by some to Hung-jen, for textual details see chapter 2 n.38): T.2011: 48.377b ff. (cf. trans. in McRae 122 ff.; and Buswell 1989: 144-145).

98. T.273: 9.370a28-29; see discussion in Buswell 1989: 153-155.

99. T.2076: 51.457a28-29; see discussion in Faure 1984: 867-868.

100. 王以萬有爲人: This sentence is syntactically ambiguous. It could be read, "The king considers all things to be for the benefit of his subjects."

101. 非作而作: cf. 143c9 for a similar construction.

102. 2.4, 1-5. My translation of this laconic exchange must be considered tentative.

103. For textual information on the Wu fang-pien see McRae 1986: 327-330 n.161. For the Fa-chü ching shu (P.2325; T.2902: 35) see Tanaka 1983: 408-412. See the discussion of the term wu-i-wu in McRae 1986: 238.

104. T.2008: 48.349a7-8; trans. McRae 1986: 237. See also the discussion in Yampolsky 1967: 94 n.17.

105. See, for example, Kuan-ting's 灌頂 preface to the Mo-ho chih-kuan T.1911: 46.1a11. See also Ting 1984: 236; and Nakamura 1981: 982.

106. The use of chen-jen differed considerably depending upon the sect and time period. See Maspero 1981: 351, 361, and passim.

107. See the Lin-chi lu 臨濟錄, T.1985: 47.496a29 and 496c10-12..

108. The Pi-yen lu 碧巖錄, which has Yün-men quoting the PTL, reads 乾坤 for 天地 (T.2003: 48.193c23-24), as does the Hung-chih ch'an-shih kuang-

lu 宏智禪師廣録 (T.2001: 48.26c18). The Ts'ung-jung lu 從容録 records both the Pi-yen lu reading when quoting Yün-men's "case," but reproduces the 天地 reading when discussing the text (T.2004: 48.286c13 and 18).

109. The Ts'ung-jung lu reads 虛照 for 靈照 (T.2004: 48.286c19).

110. The Ts'ung-jung lu reads 離見 for 難見, noting the latter as a variant reading (T.2004: 48.286c19).

111. The Tsu-t'ang chi 祖堂集 reads 位 for 號 (2.63.1-2); and the Ts'ung-jung lu reads 用 for 號, noting the latter as a variant reading.

112. The quote is also found in the Ming-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu 明覺禪師語録, compiled in the 1030s (T.1996: 47.683c25-27). In this text there is no mention made of the source of the quotation; it is simply presented in the context of a short formal lecture in the dharma-hall (shang-t'ang 上堂).

113. See T.2902: 85.1435a22-23. The form of the quote given here, which differs slightly from the text of the Taishô, is that commonly reproduced in the Ch'an materials mentioned below.

Two manuscripts of the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching were recovered at Tun-huang, namely S.2021 and a second one now in the Nakamura collection 中村不折氏藏. The Taishô edition (T.2901: 85.1434b-1435c) is based upon the latter, as the beginning of the Stein text is missing. There is also a commentary to this text, the Fa-chü ching shu 法句經疏 (P.2325 and T.2902: 85). Although valuable, the commentary does not reproduce the sûtra in full. The Fa-chü ching was clearly important in early Ch'an circles, as seen by the fact that it is quoted in the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi, the Li-tai fa-pao chi, the Ta-mo ch'an-shih lun, the Ma-tsu yü-lu, the Tun-wu yao-men, and so on. The best summary of current research on the Fa-chü ching, including a full description of all extant manuscripts and fragments, is found in Tanaka 1983: 401-412.

114. Also note Yen-shou's Tsung-ching lu, where it appears in the record of Lung-ya Chü-tun 龍牙居遁和尚 (835-923), T.2016: 48.945c.

115. See, for example, the Huang-t'ing ching 黃庭經: "The domain of the three purities consists of the Great Purity, the Upper Purity, and the Jade Purity 三清之境有太清上清玉清" (内1:1註).

116. Pao-p'u-tzu 15.10b; translation follows Ware (1966: 258-259) with some changes. See also Pao-p'u-tzu 10.6b: "Among those who attain immortality, some may ascend to [the heaven of] Great Clarity, some may soar in the Purple Firmament 紫霄, some may journey to the Dark Isle 玄洲, and some may nest a while in Pan-t'ung 板桐" (following Ware 1966: 175, with some changes).

117. Note that the more common term in such contexts is yin-ju-chieh 陰入界. The latter term chieh (Sk. dhâtu) refers to the eighteen realms,

consisting of the twelve sense-fields or *âyatana*, and the corresponding six consciousnesses (eye-consciousness, ear-consciousness, etc.). The considerable overlap between the three categories of *yin*, *ju* and *chieh* seems not to have concerned Buddhist scholiasts.

THE TREASURE STORE TREATISE CHAPTER 2:

THE ESSENTIAL PURITY OF TRANSCENDENCE AND SUBTLETY

Introductory Comments: Transcendence and Subtlety

The first chapter of the PTL ends with a quotation from the Vimalakîrti-sûtra, proclaiming the purity of the Buddha-land to be a function of the purity of one's own mind. Coming as it does after the poetic excursions into the arcane labyrinth of Taoist and Buddhist cosmology comprising so much of the first chapter, this short quote acts as an effective transition to the more classically Mahâyânist concerns of chapter 2. It also introduces one of the major themes of this chapter: that the Way lies not in any particular practice but in purity of mind, and that this purity of mind is no more and no less than the absence of "deluded" or "discursive thought" (wang-hsiang 妄想, nien-lü 念慮). "Simply free yourself of deluded thought and the Way of transcendence and subtlety will be revealed" (146b14).

Since freedom from discursive mental activity -- a state sometimes referred to as "no mind" (wu-hsin 無心) -- is itself the Tao, all words and teachings, in so far as they are products of discrimination, necessarily fall short of the mark. The second chapter repeatedly insists that truth is in some sense ineffable, and that all teachings are merely contingent expedient means:

> Dharmas of form are like shadows; dharmas of sound like echoes. It is only through shadows and echoes that things may be indicated, yet [shadows and echoes] will never succeed in encompassing true reality. Therefore the finger is not the moon, and words are not the Way. When the Way is attained words are forgotten, [just as] the finger is forgotten as soon as the moon is seen. (146b27-c1)

As all teachings are mere upâya, ultimately "there is no necessity for any words or explanations, including those pertaining to transcendence and subtlety [i.e., the PTL itself]" (147a22). The PTL repeatedly warns of the perils of attachment to language, and the dangers of hypostatizing the absolute, and rendering it an object of striving: "In seeking the dharma there is nothing to be sought. Therefore one should not harbor desire for the nameless unwrought substance" (146a22-23). And again: "If you delude yourself into supposing there is something to be grasped or rejected, something to be cultivated or attained, you will not enter into true reality" (146b10-12). Deluded thought is precisely that which is attached to existence or non-existence, and thus the sage does not seek even to "cut off delusion" (pu tuan wang 不斷妄 156a21). Ignorance is the mind indulging in distinctions, including the distinction between "delusion" and "illumination." "No-thought" or "no-mind" is precisely the mind which is free from all such judgments. The mind of the sage holds all as "equal and the same" (p'ing-teng 平等), and grasps the "non-duality" (pu-erh 不二) of all apparently opposing terms. The chapter concludes with a lengthy discussion of "attributes" (hsiang 相) and "non-attributes" (wu-hsiang 無相); the two terms are the subject of a Mâdhyamika-style analysis which demonstrates the error of attachment to either extreme or anything in-between.

Nevertheless, one is left with the impression that the PTL occasionally fails in its avowed struggle to avoid the wanton reification of the absolute. The text repeatedly invokes the absolute, or the "truth which is beyond all dualities," through a variety of names, all of which readily lend themselves to hypostatization. These names include "ultimate principle" (chih-li 至理), "wondrous principle" (miao-li 妙理), "true one" (chen-i 眞一), "true reality" (chen-shih 眞實), "apex of truth" (chen-chi 眞際), "apex of reality" (shih-chi 實際), "the Great Way" (ta-tao 大道), and so on. The PTL never clearly distinguishes these terms one from the other, presumably because they stand for that which brooks no distinctions. And yet much of the text reads as a poetic ode to the virtues of this "something" about which nothing can

nor should be said. In the end, it may be best to view such terms as "icons" of the sacred rather than as "signifiers" of some transcendental signified. The success of a Chinese "persuasive" treatise such as the PTL did not depend upon its systematic and logical rigor so much as upon its ability to elicit assent through the beauty, elegance, evocative power, and poetic depth of its prose.

The themes mentioned above are all quite typical of eighth-century Ch'an-related works. The emphasis on the ineffability of the absolute and the contingent nature of all teachings, the fact that many of the terms used to designate the absolute are clearly of Taoist provenance, and the assertion that the way of the sage lies precisely in the eradication of deluded conceptualization, show the intellectual affinity of the PTL with texts associated with the Northern School and Ox-head traditions. What makes this chapter unique, however, is the fact that much of the discussion is structured around the juxtaposition of two terms: "transcendence" (li 離) and "subtlety" (wei 微). This terminological innovation has no clear antecedents in any prior Chinese text.

The transcendence-subtlety opposition ranks as perhaps the single most important contribution of the PTL to later Ch'an exegetics. Contemporary scholarship usually cites the PTL as the locus classicus for the juxtaposition of li and wei.[1] When modern dictionaries refer to primary sources other than the PTL in their entries on li-wei, these primary sources are invariably Sung compilations which borrowed the terms directly or indirectly from the PTL.[2] Moreover, these later Sung works did not make any significant contribution to the philosophical understanding of li and wei; the only substantive discussion of the meaning of the terms is found here in the second chapter of the PTL.

There is some evidence, however, that the juxtaposition of li and wei does predate the composition of the PTL. The second chapter of our text twice quotes from an unidentified source(s) in which the pair

appears: "Therefore the scripture says, 'Viewing the subtle is called "Buddha," and knowing transcendence is called "dharma"' 故經云 見微名爲佛 知離名爲法" (146b3-4); and again: "Therefore the scripture says, 'Subtlety is wondrous and profound; transcendence is one's own intrinsic-nature' 故經云 微妙甚深 離自性也" (146c11-12). Kamata was unable to trace the source of these quotations, and suggests that they must have been culled from an apocryphal Buddhist work showing marked Taoist influence (Kamata 1965: 385). Such a source, if indeed there was one, was most likely lost at an early date, as all references to the li-wei distinction in surviving Chinese materials are clearly derived from the PTL. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that some of the quotations were devised by the author of the PTL to legitimize his own terminological innovations.[3]

Talk of li and wei diffused rapidly throughout Ch'an writings in the Sung, and it is found in many of the major kung-an and yü-lu compilations. These include the Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡録 of 961,[4] the Ming-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu 明覺禪師語録 compiled in the 1030s,[5] the Hung-chih ch'an-shih kuang-lu 宏智禪師廣録 of 1132 (and significantly, the Mo-chao ming 默照銘 which is preserved therein),[6] the Wan-sung lao-jen p'ing-ch'ang t'ien-t'ung chüeh ho-shang sung-ku ts'ung-jung-an lu 萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古從容庵録 of 1124,[7] the Ju-ching ho-shang yü-lu 如浄和尚語録 compiled in 1229,[8] the Wu-men kuan 無門関 compiled in 1228,[9] and the Hsü-t'ang ho-shang yü-lu 虛堂和尚語録 which was first printed in 1269.[10] Each of these Ch'an compilations relied heavily on its predecessors, and although many of the compilers were aware that the juxtaposition of li and wei originated with the PTL, they were not necessary conversant with the contents of the treatise. We should not be surprised to find, therefore, that as the nomenclature spread through Ch'an literary circles, the original conceptual precision and literary resonances of li and wei were occasionally lost. The Wu-men kuan 無門關 appears to use li-wei to stand rather generically for all dualistic distinctions: case 24 opens with the kung-an, "Speech and silence entail [the dualism of] transcendence and subtlety. How can one pass through

without transgressing 語默涉離微 如何通不犯?" (T.2005: 48.296a13). Hung-chih may be similarly guilty of conceptual reductionism when he collapses the pair into a compound denoting the absolute itself: "In entering one perceives the very root of transcendence and subtlety; in emerging one roams through the gateway of illusory transformations 入見離微之根出游幻化之門" (T.2001: 112a6-7). But it is also possible to understand Hung-chih as remaining filial to the spirit of the PTL in so far as he dialectically sublates the "transcendence-subtlety" opposition and thereby resists their reification. How, then, are we to understand terms wei and li as they are found in the PTL?

The Shuo-wen 說文 explains wei as "concealed activity 微、隱行也," and other early Chinese sources define wei as "indistinct 不明," "small" or "minute 小," "lacking form 無形," "delicate" or "fine 細," and so on (MH 4.911). The philosophical use of wei in Chinese thought can be traced back to the Tao-te ching. In section 14 of that text we read: "What cannot be touched is called subtle 搏之不得名曰微," and again, in section 15: "The ancient ones who excelled in the Way were subtle and wondrous, mysterious and penetrating 古之善爲士者 微妙玄通." In the Tao-te ching, to be wei is to be "highly refined," "insubstantial," or "rarefied" -- that which is wei is not non-existent, but so subtle as to be invisible, like the ch'i 氣 ("ether," "atmosphere," "pneuma," or "breath"). This interpretation is found in the Hsiang-erh commentary, which contains the following gloss to Tao-te ching 15: "The mysterious is heaven. The ancient immortals were able to guard their faith in the subtle and wondrous, and pervade heaven. Profound and unknowable -- if people practice the Way following the precepts, the subtle breath returns there. This breath is deep and profound, and thus cannot be known 玄天也 古之仙人能守信微妙 與天相通 深不可識 人行道奉誡 微氣歸之 爲氣淵淵深也 故不可識也" (Mugitani 1985: 5.6-8). Again, in commenting on Tao-te ching 5 -- "The space between heaven and earth -- it is like a bellows 天地之間 其猶橐籥" -- the Hsiang-erh says: "The breath of the Tao occupies that space. It is clear, subtle, and invisible 道氣在間 清微不見" (Mugitani 1985: 1.30).

The term wei is also associated with miao 妙 ("wondrous," "exquisite" or "ethereal") in early Taoist philosophical works. Wang Pi links the terms throughout his commentary to the Tao-te ching. Tao-te ching 1, for example, contains the line: "Therefore [when] constantly devoid of desire one may discern the wondrous 故常無欲以觀其妙," which Wang Pi explains as follows:

> The wondrous is the very extreme of subtlety. The myriad things originate in the subtle and afterward achieve completion; they originate in non-being and afterward achieve birth. Therefore, if one remains constantly devoid of desire and empty, one is able to discern the wonder of the origin of things. 妙者微之極也 萬物始於微而後成 始於無而後生 故常無欲 空虛可以觀其始物之妙.

These early Taoist works are consistent in their use of wei to denote or describe that which lies between the "non-being" (wu 無) of the Tao itself, and the manifold "being" (yu 有) of the phenomenal realm. Wei is the material analogue of the "One" which emerges from the Tao, and in turn gives birth to all things. It is associated with the pneuma which circulates through, and animates, living things.

The term wei is found throughout Buddhist works as early as the Six Dynasties, although in Buddhist usage the metaphysical connotations are often, though not necessarily, attenuated. In the Chao-lun, where the term wei appears some seventeen times, it usually means "abstruse" or "difficult to grasp." Seng-chao speaks, for example, of "the subtle words of the various scriptures 衆經之微言" (T.1868: 45.152b25), and asks us to "closely examine the sayings of the sages, which are subtle, recondite, and difficult to fathom 覆尋聖言 微隱難測" (T.1858: 45.151b12). But the echoes of the earlier metaphysical use of wei can still be detected in statements such as: "The mind of the sage is subtle and wondrous and devoid of attributes; it cannot be deemed to exist, [and yet] the vigor of its functions is such that it cannot be deemed non-existent 夫聖心者 微妙無相 不可爲有 用之彌勤 不可爲無" (T.1868: 45.153c27-28). In the Chao-lun, "subtlety" is closely associated with the terms "abstruse" (yu 幽), "recondite" or "hidden" (yin 隱), and

"wondrous" (miao 妙). At times, wei appears to be used as an attribute of the absolute itself.[11]

The Pien-cheng lun 辯正論, a collection of Buddhist polemical writings compiled in 626 by Fa-lin 法琳, includes a tract entitled "Breath is the Foundation of the Tao" (Ch'i wei tao chih pen p'ien 氣爲道之本篇), which records a debate between Buddhists and Taoists on a variety of cosmological controversies. Fa-lin's "Taoists" explicitly make the connection between the "subtle" or wei, and the "pneuma" or ch'i:

> The [Taoist] adept says:[12] In the commentaries of famous Confucians of old, as well as the commentary of Duke Ho-sheng[13] we read: "Look and it is not seen. This is called evanescent. The evanescent is the seminal essence. Listen and it is not heard. This is called rarefied. The rarefied is the spirit. Grasp and it cannot be caught. This is called subtle. The subtle is the breath."[14] . . . Lao-tzu took the three breaths of the primal origin, united them into one, and arrived at the substance upon which man is modeled. "Essence" is the essential numina, "spirit" is that which transforms, and "breath" is the breath schemata. 通人曰 古來名儒及河上公注五千文 視之不見 名曰夷 夷者精也 聽之不聞 名曰希 希者神也 搏之不得 名曰微 微者氣也 . . . 老子以元始三氣合而爲一 是至人法體 精是精靈 神是變化 氣是氣象. (T.2110: 52.536c13-23)

We can then construct the following tripartite cosmogonic scheme: (1), the evanescent, which corresponds to the seminal-essence, gives rise to (2), the rarefied, which corresponds to the spirit, which gives rise to (3), the subtle, which is the breath. In both terminology and style the passage is reminiscent of the opening sections of the PTL, but this should not be surprising. We know that the Taoist representatives in early T'ang Buddho-Taoist debates were monks associated with the ch'ung-hsüan exegetical tradition, and that this "tradition" was responsible in part for the Taoist terminology and rhetoric which permeates the PTL. The interpretation of wei as ch'i or "rarefied spiritual breath" may well influence the PTL appropriation of the term.

Whereas grammatically wei is a stative verb (i.e., a predicative adjective), or adverb, li more commonly occurs as a full transitive or

intransitive verb (to detach, disconnect, distance, estrange, free from, isolate, leave, let go of, part, release, remove, retire, separate, and so on). *Wei* lends itself more naturally to nominalization than does *li*, and indeed, prior to lexical experiments in Ch'an-related works, it is unusual (although not unknown) to find *li* functioning as a substantive (i.e., in syntactic constructions of the type 之離 or 離者).

Li does not appear as a technical metaphysical or philosophical term in early China, but this was to change with the proliferation of Buddhist scriptures. The Buddhists employed *li* in numerous compounds such as "freedom from passion 離愛," "freedom from desire 離欲," "freedom from suffering 離苦," "freedom from discrimination 離分別," "freedom from defilement 離垢" (see also 離塵, 離染, 離煩惱), and so on.[15] The term *li* was thus associated with the quintessentially Buddhist activity of "detaching oneself from," "freeing oneself from," "disentangling oneself from," or "abstaining from." Indeed, to *li* the defilements (or attachment, or desire, etc.) was to attain nirvāṇa.

The activity of *li*, or "freeing oneself from," is associated in particular with the doctrines of the "Northern School," and the term is ubiquitous in works linked to this early Ch'an tradition. As is well known, the term "*li*" was the focus of controversy in the dispute between the Northern and Southern schools. The Northern school advocated *li-nien* 離念 (often translated "freedom from thought"), a practice which was perhaps derived from the phrase "the mind essentially free of thought 心體離念" found in the *Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun* 大乘起信論 (T.1666: 32.576b12, see Zeuschner 1983: 132). The Southern school rejected the emphasis on *li-nien* as a misguided injunction to forcibly suppress thought itself.

In an attempt to elucidate the original intent behind the Northern-Ch'an usage of *li*, Zeuschner surveyed the use of the term in Buddhist and non-Buddhist Chinese literature (1983). He organized his

findings into five different "families of meanings" which can be summarized as follows:

1. To be distant from, apart from, or separate from.
2. To remove or abolish.
3. To transcend.
4. To be [mentally] detached from.
5. To be logically separate from, in the sense of belonging to a different category (see Zeuschner 1983: 134-146).

After surveying numerous occurrences in Northern-Ch'an texts such as the Ta-ch'eng wu-sheng fang-pien men 大乘無生方便門 (T.2834: 85), the Kuan-hsin lun 觀心論 (T.2833: 85), and the Tsan ch'an-men shih 讚禪門詩 (T.2839: 85), Zeuschner concludes that the texts lend themselves to a variety of possible readings; it is impossible to settle upon any one of the meanings listed above.[16] More important for our purposes is the fact that in the vast majority of cases li occurs in a verb-object construction of the type li-"X," where "X" stands for "thinking," "suffering," "attachment," "form," "falsehood," and so on. In other words, li is used in the sense of "free from," or "liberated from," rather then "freedom" or "liberation." There is, however, one interesting exception found in a passage in the Tsan ch'an-men shih:

> The preceptor asks: What is awakening? [The disciple] responds: Awakening is transcendence [li]. Transcendence is to transcend thought. To transcend each and everything -- form and mind both transcended. . . . The preceptor asks: Has the disciple attained transcendence or not? [The disciple] responds: I have transcended transcendence.[17] Transcendence is the Buddha. And what is the Buddha? The Buddha is awakening. 和言 覺是沒 答 覺是離 離是離念 一一離色心俱離 . . . 和言 子得離不 答 得離離 離是佛 佛是沒 佛是覺. (T.2839: 85.1291c23-27)

This short work survives as part of a single manuscript recovered at Tun-huang which also includes the Ta-ch'eng wu-sheng fang-pien men (S.2503). In fact, this passage is clearly related to a section of the responsive liturgy at the beginning of the Ta-ch'eng wu-sheng fang-pien men (cf. T.2834: 1273c21-2834a1), and we can thus tentatively date the Tsan ch'an-men shih to the time of Shen-hsiu 神秀 (606?-706).[18] Although the Tsan ch'an-men shih clearly derives li, or "transcendence,"

directly from li-nien, "to transcend thought," it is also evident that li has taken on a life of its own, and is explicitly identified with both "Buddhahood" (fo 佛) and "awakening" (chüeh 覺). This is remarkably close to the meaning of li in the PTL, to which we may now turn our attention.

The terms li and wei -- "transcendence" and "subtlety" -- are found juxtaposed throughout the second chapter, and it may be best to begin by allowing the PTL to speak for itself:

> It is called transcendent 離 because it is essentially untouched by things, and yet is not separate 離 from them. It is like a bright mirror reflecting a myriad images; the mirror is untouched by the reflections, but is also essentially not separate from them. Or again, it is like empty space which touches and penetrates everything without thereby being tainted. . . . It is called subtle because it is essentially ethereal and devoid of shape, form, and attributes. In functioning in response to things it assumes a myriad aspects, yet its countenance remains invisible. It garners a hundred skills, yet its work is not revealed. Look as you may it goes unseen; listen as you may it goes unheard, yet it possesses a myriad virtues as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. . . . Therefore the two words "transcendent" and "subtle" cover the essentials of the Way. Because it leaves no traces in the six senses it is called transcendent. Because its myriad functions are all devoid of a "self," it is called subtle. But subtlety is precisely transcendence, and transcendence is precisely subtlety. These two designations arise only through their interdependence. In essence they are one. (146a6-17)

> The reason the sage is free of deluded thought is that he has penetrated transcendence. The reason he is possessed of rare and wonderful functions is that he fully comprehends subtlety. Being subtle he is without mind, and being transcendent he is without body. (146b16-18)

> One who essentially understands transcendence is not attached to anything at all. He is untainted by desire and has passed over Mara's realm. One who essentially understands subtlety remains quiescent and still in regard to all things, and is free of deluded thought. (146c9-11)

> Transcendence is the principle, and subtlety is esoteric. What is the meaning of principle? [It means] to be immanent in all things. What is the meaning of esoteric? [It means] to reveal

> and employ the hidden arts. Moreover, transcendence is empty and the subtlety is existent. Being empty it is devoid of attributes, but being existent it has shape and mass. (146c21-23)

> Transcendence is accommodating, and subtlety is active. Being accommodating it admits impurity, and being active it is without peer. Being without peer its wondrous transformations continue unabated. As it admits impurity manifold existence is able to abide therein. Moreover, that which is without eyes and ears is called transcendent; that which can see and hear is called subtle. That which is without self and production is called transcendent; that which has wisdom and function is called subtle. That which is without mind and without ideation is called transcendent; that which permeates and penetrates is called subtle. Moreover, transcendence is nirvâṇa, and subtlety is prajñâ. With prajñâ there arise multifarious great functions. With nirvâṇa there is quiescence and extinction without residue. (147a1-7)

> The attribute of the absence of attributes is called transcendence, because transcendence is essentially the absence of attributes. The non-attribute which is an attribute is called subtlety, because subtlety is essentially not a non-attribute. (147c21-22)

A complete survey of passages mentioning <u>li</u> and <u>wei</u> in this second chapter enables us to compile the following list of attributes or qualities:

<u>transcendence</u> 離	<u>subtlety</u> 微
nirvâṇa 涅槃	prajñâ 般若
knowing 知	seeing 見
dharma 法	Buddha 佛
non-existence 無	existence 有
non-action 無爲	functions 用
absence of attributes 無相	possession of attributes 有相
entering 入	emerging 出
no body 無身	no mind 無心
freedom from thought 無妄想	the possession of rare and wonderful functions 有奇特之用

When organized in this fashion it is immediately evident that the distinction between <u>li</u> and <u>wei</u> recapitulates the very traditional Mahâyâna opposition between two aspects of Buddhahood, the "gone beyond" aspect, and the "compassionately present" aspect. On the one hand, Mahâyâna teaches that the Buddha, having realized emptiness, has "gone to the other shore," is utterly quiescent and free from the taint of

worldly dust. On the other hand, the Buddha, out of his great compassion, remains present in, although untouched by, the defiled world, where he applies his infinite wisdom and skillful means to the conversion of all beings. These two complimentary yet opposing aspects of Buddhahood assume many forms in Mahâyâna exegesis: it lies behind the contrast between Buddha and bodhisattva, emptiness and skillful-means, wisdom and compassion, and so on. In China, these moieties are commonly explicated in terms of "essence" (t'i 體) and "function" (yung 用), or "principle" (li 理) and "phenomena" (shih 事). These native Chinese categories facilitated the appropriation of Indian Buddhist dialectic, while circumventing the need to reproduce in detail complex Indian logical structures to which the Chinese language was not well suited. The rhetoric of t'i and yung, or li and shih, allowed the Chinese to affirm the distinctiveness of contrary or contradictory terms, while at the same time asserting their ultimate unity. The buddha-kâya theory is similarly mobilized in the effort to reconcile apparently contradictory positions; the unmanifest, empty and quiescent aspect of Buddhahood is identified as the dharma-body (fa-shen 法身), while the manifest and active aspect goes under the rubric of either transformation-body (hua-shen 化身), or response-body (ying-shen 應身). The relationship of dharma-body to transformation body is that of essence to function, or principle to phenomena -- they are two aspects of what is essentially a single and undifferentiated whole.

The PTL similarly seeks to affirm "transcendence" and "subtlety" as dual on the one hand, and unified on the other. The unity of the two is expressed variously as "intrinsic-nature" (tzu-hsing 自性), "the true one" (chen-i 眞一), "ultimate principle" (chih-li 至理), and the "Great Way" (ta tao 大道). But while the Buddhist moieties of emptiness and form, wisdom and compassion, principle and phenomena, or transcendence and subtlety, may express a common underlying logical and conceptual pattern, they do not necessarily "say the same thing." Discussion of wisdom and compassion cannot be reduced to talk of śûnyata and upâya, nor to talk of principle and phenomena. Each pair functions within a

specific rhetorical context, and carries with it particular doctrinal and polemic nuances.

The polyvalence of the terms "transcendence" and "subtlety" allows the PTL to converse simultaneously in what we might consider to be different modes of discourse, namely the metaphysical and the soteriological. On the one hand, li alludes to the Tao itself -- wholly transcendent, empty of attributes, untouched and unmoved by anything in the realm of being. At the same time, it refers to the mind of the sage, utterly detached and free of defilement. Like the Tao, the mind of the sage moves within and among things, but is untouched by them -- it is everywhere, yet remains mysterious and aloof. Finally, li denotes the means of becoming a sage and sharing in the quiescence of the Tao, namely the practice of abandoning all conceptualization, which in turn brings an end to desire and attachment.

Wei can denote that refined and subtle substance of the breath, invisible, yet nonetheless existent, permeating everywhere and penetrating everything. It also characterizes the mind of the sage, which, though dwelling in non-action, yet remains in the world of being and acts out of immeasurable compassion and infinite wisdom. Whereas li denotes the inner detachment of the sage, wei refers to his outward activity -- his spontaneous and selfless response to all living beings. We saw in part 1 of this study (chapter 3 section D) that Han cosmologers viewed ch'i as the medium or agency behind the principle of sympathetic resonance. Wei, identified with ch'i, is the "substance" of the wondrous response functions (ying-yung 應用) of the sage, who, remaining essentially transcendent, transforms (hua 化) and manifests (hsien 現) himself in the realm of existence.

The juxtaposition of "transcendence" and "subtlety" is thus a classic example of the process of terminological innovation which continued to facilitate the naturalization of Buddhist thought in medieval China. The intellectual environment out of which the PTL emerged in-

cluded ch'ung-hsüan "literary Taoists," as well as "literary Buddhists" influenced by the ideological developments which would come to be known as "ch'an." Neither Buddhist nor Taoist had any exclusive claim to the terminology, yet both would have appreciated the rich network of associations and the dialectical interplay involved in the pairing of li and wei. In short, the author of the PTL adopts and re-configures the terms "transcendence" and "subtlety" in a manner which exploits both Buddhist and Taoist literary and metaphysical antecedents -- a rhetorical device characteristic of prevailing belletristic fashions in eighth-century China.

Translation and Commentary

Text 145c13

Chapter Two: The Essential Purity of Transcendence and Subtlety

In entering there is transcendence and in emerging there is subtlety. When wisdom enters, the outer [realm] is transcended and defilements have nothing of which to take hold. When wisdom emerges, the inner [realm] is rendered subtle and the mind is freed of intentional activity.[19] *When inwardly the mind is freed of intentional activity, views are no longer roused. When outwardly defilements have nothing upon which to take hold, manifold existence cannot be harnessed.*[20] *When manifold existence cannot be harnessed,*[21] *the rushing about of thoughts and concerns ceases. When views are no longer roused there is inconceivable quiescence and cessation. It can thus be said that fundamental purity is in essence inherently transcendent and subtle.*[22]

It is in regard to entering that it is called transcendent, and in respect to functioning that it is called subtle. When fused into one there is neither transcendence nor subtlety. In essence,

transcendence cannot be defiled, and since there is no defilement there is no purity. In essence, subtlety cannot be deemed to exist, and in the absence of existence there is nothing of which to take hold.[23] *Thus there is functioning and yet it is not existent, quiescence and yet it is not non-existent. Since it is not non-existent it is not [a matter of] cessation. Since it is not existent it is not [a matter of] continuing.*

Commentary:

◇ *In entering there is transcendence and in emerging there is subtlety* 其入離 其出微: In the introduction to this chapter I briefly mentioned the opposition between "entering" (ju 入) and "emergence" (ch'u 出). The Mahâyâna path is often depicted as a process of first entering the seclusion of the monastery, the forest, or the mountains, and later re-emerging into the "marketplace" (to borrow an image from the ox-herding pictures) as a bodhisattva devoted to the liberation of all living beings. The practitioner must first withdraw from the world in order to find quiescence and enlightenment within, but later, after mastering wisdom and non-attachment, he returns to the multifarious world in order to devote himself to the practice of compassion.

The juxtaposition of "entering" and "emerging" is then structurally parallel to "transcendence" and "subtlety." But while the dialectic of li and wei tends towards the abstract and metaphysical, the imposition of the terms "entering" and "emerging" simultaneously situates the discussion in the concrete and existential. As mentioned above, the superimposition of a praxis-related exegesis on a metaphysically oriented tract is a characteristic device used in many Ch'an treatises and commentaries. Ch'an exegesis frequently takes the form of the re-interpretation of scholastic doctrine in accordance with a "phenomenological" agenda -- a process which can be relentlessly reductionistic (see the discussion of kanjin-shaku 觀心釋 in chapter 2 section G of this study). But the underlying notion of "entering" and "re-

emerging" is by no means exclusively Ch'annist -- the idea of returning to the world after a period of "world-transcendence" is typical of virtually all Mahâyânist doctrine, including Chinese Pure Land thought. The great Pure Land exegete T'an-luan, for example, says in his commentary to the "Sukhâvatîvyûhopadeśa:" "If a man is once born into the Pure Land of peace and bliss, but at a later time wishes to be re-born in the triple-realm in order to teach and convert living beings, he forsakes the Pure Land and attains re-birth according to his wishes."[24]

Text 145c20

Since nature is transcendent and subtle, it is neither grasped nor rejected, neither cultivated nor studied, neither originally non-existent nor presently existent, nor originally existent and presently non-existent, and so on, such that in the end there is not a single dharma which arises or passes away. It is not subsumed within the three realms, nor is it transformed by the [turning of the] six destinies. It is not affected by foolishness or wisdom, nor is it altered by truth or falsehood. Being everywhere equal and the same, it perfectly fills all things. In sum, it is the numinous residence of the responsive transformations of the single great dharma realm. Those who are confused about this may practice in vain for kalpas on end, while those who understand it are still and quiescent in this very existence.

Those who, out of delusion, think there is something to be desired do not apprehend this transcendence. Those who, out of delusion, think there is something to be done do not apprehend this subtlety. In not apprehending subtlety, wicked views flourish within. In not apprehending transcendence, wind and dust arise without. Because wind and dust arise without, on the outside there is the disorder of the mundane realm. Because wicked views flourish within, on the inside there is the delusion of perverted views. Since the inner and the outer are born thus from condi-

tions, the essential principle 宗 *of the True One remains hidden. He who is confused with regard to transcendence and tainted with delusion is called a "common person." He who is tainted with confusion, but has transcended delusion is called a "follower of the two vehicles." He who has penetrated the original nature of transcendence is called a "bodhisattva." He who thoroughly comprehends, perceives and understands that there is no difference between the three vehicles is called the "true Buddha for whom all is equal and the same." Thus the supreme principle is recondite and profound. It cannot be revealed through words or speech, nor can it be known through its attributes.*

Should you want to express it in terms of its attributes you will create confusion with respect to its absence of attributes. Should you desire to reveal it by means of explanation, you will create confusion with respect to its being beyond explanation. Thus there is the desire to neither explain nor express, but this does not mitigate the difficulty in penetrating its meaning. Therefore the mysterious way is transcendent and subtle, the supreme principle is difficult to reveal.

Commentary:

◇ *It is not subsumed within the three realms, nor is it transformed by the [turning of the] six destinies* 非三界所攝 非六趣所變: This sentence recalls Seng-chao's essay Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun 涅槃無名論 included in the Chao-lun 肇論: "Its life is not subsumed within the six destinies, and its essence cannot be altered by force 六趣不能攝其生 力負無以化其體" (T.1858: 45.157c8). The term translated as "six destinies" (liu ch'ü 六趣, interchangeable with liu tao 六道), refers to the six planes of sentient existence (see note to 144b4).

◇ *In sum it is the numinous residence of the responsive transformations of the single great dharma realm* 總爲一大法界應化之靈宅: The term

ling-chai 靈宅 has a technical meaning in Taoism -- it can refer to the face, which is home to the spirit. The commentary to the Huang-t'ing ching says: "The face is the residence of the spirit, and is also called the 'great residence.' Because it is the dwelling place of the eyebrows, eyes, and mouth, it is called a 'residence' 面爲靈宅 一 [read 亦] 名大宅 以眉目口之所居 故曰宅."[25] Although the PTL does not appear to use the term to mean anything like "face," we cannot exclude the possibility that our author is intentionally expropriating and redefining Taoist terminology.

◇ *Wind and dust* (feng-chen 風塵): This is a standard Buddhist allusion to, among other things, the mundane and tainted outer world.

◇ *Common man* (fan-fu 凡夫): This term, a common translation for Sk. bâla or pṛthag-jana, may be used generically to refer to those who are not yet firmly established on the path. In the third and final chapter of the PTL the term is dialectically opposed to sheng 聖 or "sage."

◇ *Two vehicles* (erh-ch'eng 二乘): The two vehicles are those of the śrâvakas and pratyekabuddhas, which collectively comprise the Hînayâna.

◇ *Supreme principle* (chih li 至理): This term is found in the "Correspondence with Liu I-min" included in the Chao-lun: "The supreme principle is empty and occult 至理虛玄" (T.1858: 45.157a9), but the term in fact predates Seng-chao, appearing in the writings of Chih-tun among others.[26] The use of the term "supreme principle" would appear to accentuate the tendency in Buddhist writings to transform the meaning of li from a principle underlying but immanent within the natural realm to an "absolute" (tathatâ) which stands apart from it.[27]

Text 146a6

It is called transcendent 離 *because it is essentially untouched by things, and yet is not removed* 離 *from them. It is like a*

bright mirror reflecting a myriad images; the mirror is untouched by the reflections, but is also essentially not separate from them. Or again, it is like empty space which touches and penetrates everything without thereby being tainted. It is undefiled by the five colors, and unmuddled by the five tones. The myriad things cannot restrain it, nor can the dense array [of manifest forms] disorder it. Therefore it is called transcendent.

It is called subtle because it is essentially ethereal and devoid of shape, form, and attributes. In functioning in response to things it assumes a myriad aspects, yet its countenance remains invisible. It garners a hundred skills, yet its work is not revealed. Look as you may, it goes unseen; listen as you may, it goes unheard; yet it possesses a myriad virtues as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. It does not continue, nor does it cease; it is not removed nor is it diffuse. Therefore it is called subtle.

Therefore the two words "transcendent" and "subtle" cover the essentials of the Way. Because it leaves no traces in the six senses it is called transcendent. Because its myriad functions are all devoid of a "self" it is called subtle. But subtlety is precisely transcendence, and transcendence is precisely subtlety. These two designations arise only through their interdependence. In essence they are one.

Those who cultivate the Way all [strive to] eradicate the defilements and seek awakening. They abandon the small vehicle and strive after Great Functions. Yet such affairs have no part within the wondrous principle. In essence, transcendence is fundamentally free of any defilement which could be eradicated, and free of any small vehicle to be abandoned. In essence, subtlety is free of any awakening to be sought, free of any Great Functions for which to strive. Why so? Because there is not a single dharma which could exist interdependently. Therefore, the sage

does not eradicate delusion, nor does he realize truth. This can be designated "the natural spontaneity of the myriad functions."

Commentary:

◇ *Look as you may, it goes unseen; listen as you may, it goes unheard* 視之不可見 聽之不可聞: This is drawn from the Tao-te ching 14: "Looking at it it goes unseen; it is called evanescent. Listening to it it goes unheard; it is called rarefied 視之不見 名曰夷 聽之不聞 名曰希." The same phrases are found in chapter 1 of the Lieh-tzu (Kobayashi 1967: 19, see the note to 143c17 above).

◇ *Six senses* (liu-ju 六入): This is a technical Buddhist term (from the Sk. ṣaḍâyatana) used to denote the six sense organs along with their associated sense fields.

◇ *Great Functions* (ta-yung 大用): This term, attested in a variety of early Chinese works, is found in the well-known story of the Carpenter Shih from chapter 4 of the Chuang-tzu.[28] Carpenter Shih decides against chopping down a giant oak, which is too gnarled and twisted to be of use for timber. After complaining that the tree is useless (無所可用), the tree appears to him in a dream and says:

> I've been trying a long time to be of no use, and though I almost died, I've finally got it. This is of great use 大用 to me. If I had been of some use, would I ever have grown this large? (11/4/71; trans. Watson 1968: 64)

Ta-yung came to be used as a rhetorical intensification of the yung of t'i-yung, or "essence and function." Where "essence" referred to the invisible and ineffable Tao itself, "function" referred to the activity by which it is known. But ta-yung, as the activity of the Tao, "acts without acting," and "functions without functioning." In Buddhist texts the term was adopted to refer to the powers of upâya-kauśalya or "skillful means" at the disposal of a Buddha or bodhisattva. But the term retained its earlier "Taoist" sense -- it accentuated the imper-

sonal and spontaneous quality of the Buddha's skillful means. See for example the Mo-ho chih-kuan 摩訶止觀:

> Number four [in a list of five cultivations] is the study of great skillful means. The skillful means are precisely the boundless Great Functioning of the Tathâgata's excellent expedient-devices which are without contrivance. [The Tathâgata], abiding in the Sûrangama-[samâdhi], displays various kinds of powers of inconceivable skillful techniques, which manifest to all beings like the wind in the sky. Even in the great conflagration at the end of the kalpa, the grasses born [by such a wind] are not harmed by the flames. 四學大方便者 即是如來無謀善權無方大用 住首楞嚴種種示現 不可思議巧方便力 示諸衆生虛空中風 劫燒負草令無燒害 此爲難事 故須善巧. (T.1911: 46.81b15-19; cf. ibid. 60a7 and 81c6)

We saw in chapter 3 of this study that Chih-i understood the Buddha's upâya or "Great Functioning" as a natural, spontaneous, and unpremeditated response (ying 應) to a set of instigating conditions (kan 感). This term ta-yung, with its Taoist and Buddhist resonances, is exploited in Ch'an materials -- it functions simultaneously as an epithet for the absolute, and as a technical term denoting the liberative powers of skillful means possessed by the sages. Note, for example, the following passage taken from the Pi-yen lu 碧巖錄:

> People often fall into thinking and conceptual consciousness. But it is already in front of you, prior to the onset of words and language. If one can grasp it, Great Functioning will appear right before you -- it can be seen naturally! 大用現前自然見得也.[29]

The "Great Functioning which appears before you" is at one and the same time the Buddha as nirmâṇakâya responding to the stimulus of the ardent Ch'an practitioner, and the Tao or truth made manifest.

Text 146a22

In seeking the dharma there is nothing to be sought. Therefore one should not harbor desire for the nameless unwrought substance. This can be called "wondrous awakening."

Transcendence and subtlety are not apprehended by deluded consciousness, nor are they known by misguided understanding. What is "deluded consciousness"? It is the six consciousnesses [associated with each of the six senses]. What is misguided understanding? It is dualistic understanding. In essence truth is one, and thus it cannot be known by dualistic understanding. In essence there is nothing, and thus it cannot be apprehended by the six consciousnesses. There is not a single dharma which comes from without, nor a single dharma which emerges from within. Moreover, there is no [conditioned] birth through the coming together of tiny dharmas. This can be called "Great Clarity;" this can be called the "true seminal essence." It essentially transcends all perception, and thus cannot be measured by thought. It essentially transcends all reckoning, and thus cannot be secured with words. This is why Vimalakîrti remains silent, and the Tathâgata is quiescent and still. Although many different vehicles are expounded, they are all merely skillful means to open the way to understanding so that one may enter into the knowledge and vision of the Buddhas.

Commentary:

◇ *The nameless unwrought substance* 無名之朴: See note to 144b17.

◇ *Wondrous awakening* (miao-chüeh 妙覺): This term had some currency in Chinese Buddhism where it referred to the full enlightenment of the Buddha. In T'ien-t'ai scholastic materials it took on a somewhat more technical sense, referring to one of the highest stages on the path -- the stage of neither birth nor non-birth wherein all the defilements have been eradicated (see the Mo-ho chih-kuan T.1911:46.67a19, 113b14 and passim.).

◇ *Dualistic understanding* (erh-chih 二智): Context demands that the phrase erh-chih be understood as referring to dualistic modes of under-

standing, i.e., understanding which entails both an object to be known, and a subject which knows the object. Thus "truth," which does not admit of any duality, cannot be "known" in such a fashion.

This is not, however, a common use of the compound erh-chih. When erh-chih does appear in Buddhist texts, it typically refers to "two kinds of wisdom" (erh chung chih 二種智). Buddhist scriptures mention many different versions of the "two wisdoms," but they are all ultimately derived from a small set of related distinctions, i.e., the distinction between the wisdom of the ultimate and the wisdom of the conventional, or the wisdom of a Buddha and the wisdom of the common man, or the wisdom of the whole and the wisdom of the particular, and so on. The Mahâyânasûtrâlaṅkâra, for example, distinguishes between "non-discriminating wisdom" (無分別智, nirvakalpajñâna) and "contingently established wisdom" (如所建立智, yathâvyavasthâna; T.1604: 31.626b8 ff.) Buddhist reference works also note the following pairs: "wisdom which accords with the principle 如理智" versus "wisdom which is acquired through experience 如量智," "fundamental wisdom 根本" versus "acquired wisdom 後得," "true wisdom 實智" versus "expedient wisdom 權智," etc. (Ting 1984: 41c-42a; MZ 4.3546c; Nakamura 1981: 1049a). It is not clear which, if any, of these schemes may have been familiar to our author, and it would seem that the use of erh-chih in the PTL is somewhat idiosyncratic.

◇ *This can be designated "Great Clarity"* 可謂之太清: See the discussion of the term "Great Clarity" in the commentary to chapter 1 above (145c1). In so far as this term was commonly used to refer to a divine abode populated by Taoist deities and immortals, this passage may involve a polemic attempt to appropriate and "Buddhify" the term t'ai ch'ing by redefining it. The import of the sentence would then be: "This [is the true meaning] of the term 'Great Clarity.'"

◇ *True seminal essence* (chen-ching 眞精): This term can refer to highly polished or refined rice (i.e., the very "essence" of the grain

of rice, MH 8.197a). Although not well attested in Buddhist sources, it is found, interestingly enough, in the apocryphal Śûraṅgama-sûtra:[30]

> All the conditions of form and mind, all mental constructs, and all conditioned dharmas are mere manifestations brought forth by mind. Your body and mind are not but the wondrous and luminous true seminal essence -- they are things manifest within the wondrous mind 色心諸緣及心所使 諸所緣法 唯心所現 汝身汝心皆是妙明眞精 妙心中所現物. (T.945: 19.110c22-23; cf. Araki 1986: 98)
>
> Therefore your present vision of me, as well as [your vision of] yourself and the ten types of sentient beings in the world is not but a disease of vision. One whose vision is free of disease views the true seminal essence 見眞精. For one whose nature is free of disease there is no such designation as "vision." (T.945: 19.113c7-9; cf. Araki 1986: 155)

Notice that the PTL passage may be informed by a knowledge of the Śûraṅgama-sûtra. The sûtra claims that the vision of the true essence is no vision at all, a view which conforms to the PTL section which follows.

◇ *Vimalakîrti remains silent* 維摩默然: This refers to the famous silence of Vimalakîrti in response to Mañjuśrî's request to expound the doctrine of the entry into non-duality.[31] The phrase ju-lai chi-mo 如來寂寞 again invokes the image of the Buddha sitting silently doing nothing in the manner of the Yellow Emperor perched on his throne facing south.

Text 146b2

> *Knowledge [of the Buddha] refers to knowing transcendence, and vision [of the Buddha] refers to viewing the subtle. Therefore the scripture says: "Viewing the subtle is called 'Buddha,' and knowing transcendence is called 'dharma.'" In knowing transcendence one avoids all contact with the defilements. In viewing the subtle one avoids all association with empty delusion. In the absence of empty delusion the principle of the True One is made*

manifest. In the absence of defilement the [treasure's] bright luster shines forth naturally.

As for the meaning of transcendence and subtlety, they are neither one nor two, nor can they be revealed through words or explanations. Apply the very depths of your mind to the embodiment of understanding and they will shine brightly before you. Then you will confront the objective realm without mind, and encounter conditions without disturbance and without neglecting the Way of transcendence and subtlety. But with the onrush of the flow of consciousness, as soon as the mouth is opened the mind is contravened and the principle is lost. This can be called "intently focused without wavering, such that there is neither day nor night, neither silence nor noise, and all is brought into perfect accord." But if you delude yourself into supposing there is something to be grasped or rejected, something to be cultivated or attained, you will not enter into true reality. This is to repudiate the meaning of transcendence and subtlety, and desecrate the law of the Great Way.

Commentary:

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "Viewing the subtle is called 'Buddha,' and knowing transcendence is called 'dharma'"* 故經云 見微名爲佛 知離名爲法: Kamata is unable to identify this quote but suggests that it must be from an apocryphal scripture which also shows Taoist influence (Kamata 1965: 385). Obviously, if this came out of a prior scripture, then the li-wei distinction predates the PTL. See the introductory comments to this chapter.

Text 146b12

As there is nothing to be attained from without, truth is not something to be sought after. As there is nothing to be realized

from within, reality is not something to be cultivated. Simply free yourself of deluded thought and the Way of transcendence and subtlety will be revealed. Transcendence is void and subtlety empty. The empty and the void are quiescent and still, and therefore they are called transcendent and subtle.

The reason the sage is free of deluded thought is that he has penetrated transcendence. The reason he is possessed of rare and wonderful functions is that he fully comprehends subtlety. Being subtle he is without mind, and being transcendent he is without body. When body and mind are both gone, numinous wisdom alone remains. Destroyed are the realms of existence and non-existence; obliterated is the dwelling place of the self. With the natural spontaneity of the dharma realm, he is [endowed] with resplendent functions, and yet is free from birth. Therefore the sage transforms himself [for the benefit of living beings] while yet dwelling in non-action. He teaches without words in resonant accord with the obscure principle. He is quiescent and still, and is free of personhood 無人. *In this way he embraces and pervades the great schemata; he encompasses and enters the myriad things. He is like empty space, which pervades everywhere*[32] *and fills everything.*

Commentary:

◇ *Simply free yourself of deluded thought and the Way of transcendence and subtlety will be revealed* 但無妄想者 即離微之道顯: This is an elegantly concise statement of the very heart of early Ch'an ideology. The terminology preferred by Northern Ch'an masters was li-nien ("detachment from thought") or li wang-hsiang ("detachment from deluded thought"). The Southern School proselytizer Shen-hui 神會 (684-758) criticized the rhetoric of "detachment from thought" as being "gradualist," and advocated instead the doctrine of wu-nien ("no thought"). The latter term is to be understood not as the eradication

or elimination of thought, but as the sudden realization of the emptiness of all conceptualization. Although the terminology of the *PTL* shows the influence of Ch'an ideas throughout,[33] there is little evidence that the author was unduly influenced by, or even aware of, the polemics of competing "Ch'an lineages."

◇ *Transcendence is void and subtlety empty* 離者虛也 微者冲也: The *locus classicus* for the technical Taoist use of *ch'ung* 冲 is chapter 4 of the *Tao-te ching*: "The way is empty yet use will not drain it 道冲而用之或不盈" (trans. Lau 1963: 60). This is a problematic passage, and Lau's translation relies on a key emendation (盈 to 窮). In the later commentarial tradition, *ch'ung* is generally understood as equivalent to *hsü* 虛 ("empty"), although we saw in chapter 1 section I that certain *ch'ung-hsüan* authors, including Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, understood it to mean "middle" (*chung* 中), which they then associated with the *chung-kuan* 中觀 or "middle-view." The connection between *wei* and *ch'ung* may be drawn from the *Tao-te ching*, which alternatively associates *wei* with *yung*, and *yung* with *ch'ung*.

Text 146b22

> *Confused beings establish a self where there is no self, giving rise to the perversion of selfhood within. When the perversion of selfhood arises within, the holy principle is unable to penetrate. When the holy principle is unable to penetrate, existence is established without. When existence is established without, the inner and the outer give rise to obstructions. When the inner and outer give rise to obstructions, the material principle is unable to penetrate. Thus following from confusion all these [attendant consequences] flow forth, confounding the clear radiance.*[34] *The myriad schemata sink into oblivion, the essential principle* 宗 *of the True One is lost in confusion, and the many competing views vie for contention. Therefore I have composed this treatise on transcendence and subtlety to reveal the essential and recondite*

mystery. If the student ponders this deeply he can come to understand the empty and the real.

Dharmas of form are like shadows; dharmas of sound like echoes. It is only through shadows and echoes that things may be indicated, yet [shadows and echoes] will never succeed in encompassing true reality. Therefore the finger is not the moon, and words are not the Way. When the Way is attained words are forgotten, [just as] the finger is forgotten as soon as the moon is seen. Therefore, to be ignorant of transcendence is to be the demon Mara, greedily grasping at filth and taking joy in attachment to birth and death. To be ignorant of subtlety is to be a heretic who, lacking discernment and critical capacity, perversely begets a host of [false] views.

As to the foundations of these views, none of them go beyond the province of existence and non-existence. What is meant by "existence"? It refers to the delusion that there is something created. What is meant by "non-action"? It refers to the discernment that there is nothing to be attained. Thus all of the many and multifarious views arise dependent upon the two views of existence and non-existence. All views which arise [based on the notions of existence and non-existence] are depraved and false, and are therefore designated "heterodox."

As to the foundations of life and death, they are known as retention and loss. The retention of the body is life. The loss of the body is extinction. Willful attachment to deluded thought, grasping at external objects while completely entrenched in the false view of the body [as the self], longing for the marvelous fruits and rewards to be received in some magnificent realm in a future birth -- this is what is called Mara. One who essentially understands transcendence is not attached to anything at all. He is untainted by desire and has passed over Mara's realm. One who

essentially understands subtlety remains quiescent and still in regard to all things, and is free of deluded thought. Therefore the scripture says: "Subtlety is wondrous and profound; transcendence is one's own intrinsic-nature." Therefore [to know] subtlety is to be free of views, [to know] transcendence is to be free of attachment. To be free of both views and attachment is the joy of quiescence and extinction.

Commentary:

◇ *Holy principle* 聖理 and *material principle* 物理: The term "holy principle" (or perhaps "sagely principle") is rare in Buddhist sources. I have found it in the Mo-ho chih-kuan (T.1911: 46.105a16-17) where it is opposed to jen-li 人理, "the principle of the common man." Nakamura defines wu-li ("material principle" or "mundane principle") as "the principles governing the realm of man" (1981: 1368c), citing Chan-jan's 湛然 usage in the Shih pu-erh men 十不二門 (T.1927: 46.704b20). We might then read these T'ien-t'ai materials as establishing a contrast between the principles governing the ultimate, and those governing the mundane, although the relevance of these sources to the passage at hand is questionable.

◇ *The false view of the body [as the self]* (shen chien 身見): This is a technical Buddhist term (satkâyadṛṣṭi, sometimes rendered yu shen chien 有身見) for one of the five wrong views (pañca dṛṣṭayaḥ, see MZ 2.1169c). It is generally interpreted as the mistaken belief in a substantial ego or self, or the identification of the body as the self.

◇ *Longing for the marvelous fruits and rewards to be received in some magnificent realm in a future birth* 愛彼未來殊勝生處受妙果報: This may well be an explicit criticism of the desire for future birth in the Pure Land.[35] The third chapter of the PTL contains a long polemic passage (149a21 ff.) criticizing those who believe in the objective reality of Buddhas seen in visions resulting from nien-fo practice. It seems

that the author of our text had little patience for literalistic interpretations of Pure Land cosmology.

Text 146c13

What is suffering? Since there is no clear comprehension of subtlety there is inward conceptualization. Since there is no clear comprehension of transcendence there is outward dependence. Outward dependence leads to greed, and inward conceptualization leads to [karmic] conditioning. The onset of conditioning and greed leads to servitude to Mara's realm. Day and night blaze on without a moment's rest as one is wholly engaged in worldly toil. Therefore it is called suffering.

What is joy? With the clear comprehension of subtlety there is no inward conceptualization. With the clear comprehension of transcendence there is no outward dependence. In the absence of outward dependence there is no greed, and in the absence of inward conceptualization there is no conditioning. In the absence of conditioning there is nothing to restrain one, and there is no servitude to worldly toil. Clear, empty, quiescent, and still, with nothing to bind one, one's innate nature is liberated. Therefore it is called joy.

Transcendence is the principle, and subtlety is esoteric. What is the meaning of principle? [It means] to be immanent in all things. What is the meaning of esoteric? [It means] to reveal and employ the hidden arts.

Moreover, transcendence is empty and the subtlety is existent. Being empty it is devoid of attributes, but being existent it has shape and mass. Thus it is neither extant nor empty. The essential principle 宗 *of the myriad dharmas, neither empty nor extant, is the mother of the myriad things. It emerges from nowhere and*

enters no place, and fully embraces[36] *the myriad existing things, yet it cannot be considered phenomenal. Its responsive transformations have a myriad aspects, and yet there is no master. Therefore [Vimalakīrti's] small room is vast and accommodating, and numerous powers lie in a single instant of thought. This is not something the mind can fathom, nor something of which the intellect can conceive. It can be called "abiding in the power of inconceivable liberation." What is the meaning of inconceivable? It is, in essence, transcendence and subtlety. And what is the meaning of liberation? It is to be unconstrained. Transcendence is the dharma, subtlety is the Buddha, and the harmonious union in which [transcendence and subtlety] are not two is called the saṃgha. Therefore, the three names are one in essence; there is one essence, yet three names. When fused together there is no distinction among them, and they return to the nameless source.*

Commentary:

◇ *Transcendence is the principle, and subtlety is esoteric. What is the meaning of principle? [It means] to be immanent in all things. What is the meaning of esoteric? [It means] to reveal and employ the hidden arts* 離者理也 微者密也 何謂爲理 不離一切物 何謂爲密 顯用藏術: This passage involves a range of punning and word play which is virtually impossible to render in translation. The Chinese terms for "transcendent" and "principle" are near homophones, and approximate rhymes with "esoteric."[37] The terms translated as "things" and "arts" loosely rhyme as well, giving the entire parallel structure a satisfying thumpity-thump.[38] Moreover, "the transcendent" is identified with "principle," which is defined as that which is, literally, "not removed," or "not transcendent" (pu li 不離, translated here as "immanent"). Similarly, "the subtle" is identified with "esoteric," which in turn is defined as that which "reveals and employs the hidden arts" (note that hsien 顯 is the opposite of mi 密). Thus transcendence and subtlety are defined in terms of their identity with their op-

posites. The apparent paradox is resolved by insisting that "subtlety" and "transcendence" are of a single essence, such that no ultimate distinction holds between them.

◇ *Its responsive transformations have a myriad aspects, and yet it has no master* 應化萬端 而不爲主: (Note the similar sentence above: "In functioning in response to things it assumes a myriad aspects, yet its countenance remains invisible 應用萬端而不見其容," 146a12.) The term "responsive transformations" (<u>ying-hua</u> 應化) refers to the "response-bodies" of a Buddha or sage (see above 145c24, and the discussion in chapter 3 section J of this study).

◇ *Therefore [Vimalakîrti's] small room is vast and accommodating, and numerous powers lie in a single instant of thought* 是以小室寬容一念多通: The reference to the "small room" alludes to the "miracle of the thrones" in the <u>Vimalakîrti-sûtra</u>. Mañjuśrî arrives at Vimalakîrti's small unfurnished room with a large assembly in tow. After the initial dialogue between Mañjuśrî and his host, Śâriputra worries about the inadequate seating arrangements. Vimalakîrti chides Śâriputra for the pettiness of his concerns, and proceeds to summon thirty-two thousand glorious lion thrones from the Merudhvajâ universe in order to seat his guests. Vimalakîrti's small room effortlessly accommodates both the congregation and their thrones. After the entire congregation is seated, Śâriputra comments: "Householder [Vimalakîrti], it is truly unprecedented that this small room should be able to accommodate all these high and broad thrones, without creating any hindrance or obstacle in the city of Vaiśâlî 居士 未曾有也 如是小室乃容受此高廣之座 於毘耶離城無所妨礙" (T.475: 14.546b).

The "numerous powers" ascribed to a "single instant of thought" or "a single moment of reflection" (<u>i-nien</u> <u>to-t'ung</u> 一念多通) may refer to any one of a number of Buddhist doctrines; the phrase is too laconic to allow an identification with any particular philosophical or meditative tradition.[39] However, the ninth vow of the <u>Wu-liang-shou</u> <u>ching</u> 無量壽經

does come to mind: "If I should attain Buddhahood, and the men and gods in my realm do not obtain spiritual powers such that they are able to cross over a hundred thousand million nayutas of Buddha lands in the interval of a single thought, then may I not attain full awakening 設我得佛 國中人天 不得神足 於一念頃下至 不能超過百千億那由他諸佛國者 不取正覺" (T.360: 12.268a6-8). Note also the T'ien-t'ai doctrine of the "trischiliocosm in a single moment of thought 一念三千" (see Hurvitz 1980: 271-318).

◇ *Transcendence is the dharma, subtlety is the Buddha, and the harmonious union in which [transcendence and subtlety] are not two is called the saṃgha* 離者法也 微者佛也 和合不二名爲僧也: The antecedent for this identification of the transcendent with the dharma, and the subtle with the Buddha, would seem to be the unidentified scripture quoted above (146c3-4).

Text **147a1**

Moreover, transcendence is accommodating, and subtlety is active. Being accommodating it admits impurity, and being active it is without peer. Being without peer its wondrous transformations continue unabated. As it admits impurity manifold existence is able to abide therein.

Moreover, that which is without eyes and ears is called transcendent; that which can see and hear is called subtle. That which is without self and production is called transcendent; that which has wisdom and function is called subtle. That which is without mind and without ideation is called transcendent; that which permeates and penetrates is called subtle.

Moreover, transcendence is nirvâṇa, and subtlety is prajñâ. With prajñâ there arise multifarious great functions. With nirvâṇa there is quiescence and extinction without residue. Being without

residue, the defilements are eternally exhausted. With great functions there is no end to the transformations of the sage. Should a person fail to penetrate transcendence and subtlety, then even though he may undertake austerities and practice the dhûtas far removed from the dust of the world, and even though he may sever greed, anger and delusion, and cultivate to perfection self-control and patience continuously for immeasurable kalpas, in the end he will not enter true reality. Why is this so? It is because all such [endeavors] rely on maintaining correct practice while abiding in the notion that there is something to be attained. [Such a practice] does not transcend the many perverted, illusory, and heretical views. But should there be one who essentially understands transcendence and subtlety, then even though he may draw near to the pervasions of deluded thought, and although he may move among defilement, still he continually maintains awareness of the meaning of transcendence and subtlety. It will not be long before such a one enters into the true reality of the unsurpassed Way. Why is this so? It is because he clearly comprehends the very basis of correct views.

Moreover, it is called transcendent in contradistinction to the six senses. It is called subtle in contradistinction to the six consciousnesses. If the six are fused into one, there is a quiescent stillness which is devoid of things. It [cannot be enumerated in terms of] five or four or three, or of nine or eight or seven. Only the sage, responding appropriately to the occasion, establishes teachings tailored to specific attachments. Ultimately principle is entirely devoid of name and sign. It is like empty space which transcends both multiplicity and non-multiplicity, both nature and non-nature. It is neither unity nor difference, neither the objective realm nor transcendent to the objective realm, and it cannot be explained in words. It goes beyond letters and signs, and beyond the deliberations of mind. It neither comes nor goes, neither emerges nor enters.

Commentary:

◇ *Moreover, transcendence is accommodating, and subtlety is active. Being accommodating it admits impurity, and being active it is without peer* 又離者容也 微者用也 容故含垢 用故無侶: Again, stylistic considerations seem to have determined the choice of terminology. In medieval Chinese (Sui-T'ang) the terms for "accommodating" and "active" are homophones.[40]

◇ *Without residue* (wu-yü 無餘): See note to chapter 1, 144a21.

◇ *Dhûta* (t'ou-t'o 頭陀): The dhûta are a group of singularly severe austerities optionally available to Buddhist monks. They are intended for those who are inclined to a more rigorous practice, or those who find attachment to clothing, food, or dwelling place particularly intractable. There are various lists of twelve which typically include such disciplines as refraining from lying down, dwelling only in cemeteries, limiting food intake, and so on (MZ 4.3758; Nakamura 1981: 803a).

◇ *Although he may draw near to the pervasions of deluded thought, and although he may move among defilement, still he continually maintains awareness of the meaning of transcendence and subtlety* 雖近有妄想習氣及現行煩惱 然數數覺知離微之義: The term "pervasions of deluded thought" (wang-hsiang hsi-ch'i 妄想習氣) is widely used in the writings of Northern Ch'an, which may be due to the fact that it is found in the Guṇabhadra translation of the Laṅkâvatâra (where it translates vikalpa-vâsanâ[41]). The phrase is ubiquitous, for example, in the Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh 頓悟大乘正理決 by Mo-ho-yen 摩訶衍.[42] The central theme of this polemic work, repeated ad nauseam, is that Buddhahood lies precisely in "transcending the pervasions of deluded thought 離一切妄想習氣" (P.4646: 129a5 and passim), or alternatively, "transcending the pervasions of conceptualization 離心想習氣" (P.4646: 130b2 and passim). Mo-ho-yen similarly impugns all but the simple awareness of thoughts as

they arise. Gomez quotes the following from a fragment of Mo-ho-yen's work as a convenient summary of his teachings:

> The state of saṃsâra is merely the result of deluded thoughts 妄想. Enlightenment is achieved by not grasping at these thoughts and not dwelling on them 不取不住, by not bringing them to the mind 不思, by not inspecting the mind 不觀, but by merely being aware 覺 of all thoughts as they arise.[43]

This practice of continual "awareness" (chüeh 覺) is characteristic of many of the teachers associated with Northern Ch'an. This reference to the "continual awareness of the meaning of transcendence and subtlety" is further evidence of the PTL's intellectual affinity with early Ch'an, although, as mentioned above, there is little evidence that the author of the text was concerned with, or even aware of, the rivalries between competing lineages.

Text 147a20

> *As for the scriptures and treatises, there are none that do not approach the passions of the unenlightened in order to destroy their very foundations. The various skillful means are not to be located within form or phenomena.*[44] *And not abiding in form or phenomena, there is no necessity for any words or explanations, including those pertaining to transcendence and subtlety.*[45] *Therefore the scripture says: "[The Buddhas] explain the dharma in accordance with what is appropriate. Their purport is difficult to understand." Although they speak of many different vehicles,*[46] *[all such talk is but] expedient skillful means -- dharmas to aid one along the Way.*[47] *Thus [these vehicles] are not ultimate liberating nirvâṇa. It is as if*[48] *a man were to draw an image of many colors*[49] *in empty space, or if he were to produce*[50] *various sounds and noises. The real attributes of empty space would not thereby be altered, nor would space undergo any change or movement.*[51] *Therefore know that the same is true of the transformation-bodies of all the Buddhas and of all the dharmas*

they expound. At the apex of reality there is neither identity nor difference. Therefore, heaven and earth encompass[52] *the transcendent, and empty space encompasses*[53] *the subtle. The myriad things stir producing change and transformation, yet there is no intentional action.*

Commentary:

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "[The Buddhas] explain the dharma in accordance with what is appropriate. Their purport is difficult to understand"* 故經云 隨宜說法 意趣難解: This comes from the second chapter of the Kumârajîva translation of the Lotus (Fang-pien p'in 方便品 T.262: 9.7a). Kamata has found the same quote in a Tun-huang manuscript of another Buddhist text showing considerable Taoist influence, the Chen-yen yao-chüeh 眞言要決 (T.2825: 85.1231b2-3; Kamata 1965: 382).

◇ *Dharmas to aid one along the Way* 助道之法: The term chu-tao fa is a standard translation for the Sanskrit bodhipakṣya-dharma ("thirty-seven auxiliaries of enlightenment") found, among other places, in the Vimalakîrti (see T.475: 14.543c29 and 545c).

◇ *Apex of reality* (shih-chi 實際): This term is used as a translation of the Sanskrit koṭi or bhûtakoṭi in many of the sûtras known to our author, including the Laṅkâvatâra and the Vimalakîrti. It is commonly glossed as "true suchness" (chen-ju 眞如), "the true mark of all dharmas" (chu-fa shih-hsiang 諸法實相), śûnyatâ, bhûtatathatâ, and so on (Nakamura 1981: 597c). More significantly, it is an important term in the apocryphal Vajrasamâdhi, the fifth chapter of which is titled "Approaching the Apex of Reality" (Ju shih-chi p'in 入實際品, T.273: 9.369a29). The Vajrasamâdhi equates the "apex of reality" with the tathâgatagarbha, and according to Wonhyo's exegesis, the "apex of reality" is the very essence (t'i 體) of this sûtra, while the destruction of obstacles is the function (yung 用).[54]

In the context of the PTL, the term shih-chi is clearly related, and for all practical purposes synonymous, with the terms chen-chi 眞際 ("apex of truth") and pen-chi 本際 ("point of genesis"). A full discussion of the latter term will be found at the beginning of the following chapter.

The section above, along with the following two sections (147a20-147b20), are quoted in full in Yen-shou's Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡錄 (T.2016: 48.494b9-c9). Yen-shou duly notes the source of the quotation as "The Chapter on Transcendence and Subtlety from the Treasure Store Treatise 寶藏論離微品云. . ." The numerous small variants, for the most part of little consequence, are listed in the endnotes.

Text 147a29

In the midst of spirit there is knowledge, and in the midst of knowledge there is power. There are five kinds of power and three kinds of knowledge. And what are the five powers?[55] *The first is called "power of the Way," the second "spiritual power," the third "dependent power," the fourth "recompense power," and the fifth "demonic power." And what is demonic power?*[56] *To understand marvels such as the possession of a human body by a fox or the spectres of trees and rocks -- this is called demonic power.*[57] *What is recompense power? To possess the divine foreknowledge of the movements of heaven, to know, while still in limbo, one's future birth, and to know the movements*[58] *of spirits and dragons -- this is*[59] *recompense power. What is dependent power? To know things in accord with the dharma, to act in consonance with the body, to travel to and fro by means of the magic-vehicle talisman, and to have the power of numinous transformation by ingesting elixirs -- this is dependent power.*[60] *What is spiritual power? To illuminate things with a still mind, to be able to recall*[61] *former lives, and to possess all the other discernments which flow from the power of samâdhi -- this is*[62] *spiritual power. What is*

the power of the Way? To be empty of mind, to resonate with all things and change with the myriad phenomena, to be masterless like the [reflection of the] moon on the water, the flowers [seen in the] empty sky, or the images[63] reflected [in a mirror] -- this is[64] the power of the Way.

Commentary:

◇ *Five kinds of powers* (wu t'ung 五通): The list enumerated here varies substantially from the classical Buddhist formulation of the "five supernatural powers" (pañca-abhijñâ) associated with accomplishment in dhyâna.[65] Both Morohashi (1.501b) and Mochizuki (2.1261) reproduce the more traditional list, but then go on to enumerate the variant list found in the PTL. Morohashi mentions no source at all for the second list, while Mochizuki cites only chüan 15 of the Tsung-ching lu. But as mentioned above, the Tsung-ching lu is merely quoting at length from the PTL. It would then appear that this version of five powers originated with the PTL -- a surmise which may be substantiated by the fact that the list of "three kinds of knowledge" which follows is similarly not attested elsewhere.

In brief, the five powers of the PTL can be understood as a means of organizing a host of paranormal powers, in ascending order of importance. "Demonic power" refers to those abilities generally associated with popular shamanism and exorcism, while "recompense" and "dependent" powers include spiritual accomplishments associated with Taoist practices. The fourth power, "spiritual power," includes the traditional list of Buddhist abhijñâ, and the paramount "power of the Way" refers to the attainments of the realized sage who is extolled throughout this treatise.

◇ *Demonic power* (yao-t'ung 妖通): For the term yao see note to 144b22 above.

◇ *Recompense power* (pao-t'ung 報通): Recompense powers are concerned with knowledge of future events, here including the movements of the heavens and dragons, as well as the more "Buddhistic" knowledge of future birth.

◇ *Dependent power* (i-t'ung 依通): These powers are dependent upon "external" agents which include not only charms and talismans (fu 符) and herbal elixirs (yao 藥), but also the dharma (understood as "teachings") and the physical body.

◇ *To travel to and fro by means of the magic-vehicle talisman* (ch'eng-fu wang-lai 乘符往來): I have not been able to locate any other reference to the "vehicle talisman." This talisman or charm (fu 符) apparently allowed the bearer to travel at will.

◇ *Spiritual power* (shen-t'ung 神通): This term is a common translation for abhijña -- the powers associated with exalted states of trance in Buddhist sources. The power of pûrvanivâsa-anusmṛti (recollection of previous lives), one of the traditional five abhijña, is found included in this category.

Text 147b9

> *What are the three knowledges? The first is called "true knowledge," the second "inner knowledge," and the third "outer knowledge." What is outer knowledge? To be discerning*[66] *with respect to the sense faculties, to clearly apprehend the objective realm, and to be widely*[67] *versed in worldly matters both ancient and modern -- this is*[68] *outer knowledge. What is inner knowledge? To awaken oneself from ignorance and eliminate*[69] *the defilements such that mind and ideation are quiescent and still, and to extinguish existence without residue*[70] *-- this is*[71] *inner knowledge. What is true knowledge? To essentially understand original quiescence and stillness which is devoid of things, and to penetrate*

the boundless non-duality[72] *of purity and pollution -- this is called true knowledge. Therefore*[73] *accomplishment in the Way of true wisdom cannot be named, and all else is false and counterfeit. Do not take the counterfeit*[74] *as true, and do not take the false*[75] *as correct. The deluded and unsettled mind gives rise to confusion within the essential nature.*[76] *Therefore the profound understanding of transcendence and subtlety penetrates all existence, and the fundamental truth of intrinsic-nature issues from all varieties of living beings.*

Knowledge[77] *can be either false or correct and penetration can be either true or counterfeit. If one lacks the seminal brilliance of the dharma-eye it is difficult to distinguish*[78] *between them. Thus the mundane world places considerable faith in the false and the counterfeit, and places little faith in the correct and true. They abandon the practice of the great teaching and engage [instead] in the small vehicle. Therefore know that the wondrous principle is difficult to reveal.*

Commentary:

◇ *The three knowledges* (san-chih 三智): Like the list of five powers above, this enumeration differs markedly from other sets of "three knowledges" known from Buddhist sources.[79] We can only assume it to be an innovation on the part of our author.

◇ *Dharma-eye* (fa-yen 法眼): This is a common translation for the Sanskrit dharma-cakṣus -- a faculty which is frequently acquired by the large numbers of living beings appearing in the sûtras after they hear a discourse by a Buddha or bodhisattva. The "attainment of the purity of the dharma-eye" is typically found as part of a stock formula, seen repeatedly, for example, in the Vimalakîrti. Following the Buddha's revelation of the purity of his Buddha-field in chapter 1 we read: "Thereupon thirty-two thousand gods and men who aspired to the śrâvaka

vehicle understood that conditioned dharmas are all impermanent and were thus separated from defilement, removed from impurity, and attained the purity of the dharma-eye 遠塵離垢得法眼淨" (T.475: 14.539a; see also ibid. 540c and 546a for the same formula). And the same expression is found in the Lotus:

> When the Buddha preached this chapter on the original deeds of King Wonderfully Adorned, eighty-four thousand people were separated from defilement, removed from impurity, and attained the purity of the dharma-eye with respect to all dharmas 遠塵離垢於諸法中得法眼淨. (T.262: 9.61a; see ibid. 394b for the same formula)

The term "dharma-eye" assumed a particular significance in Ch'an related materials as it was identified with the Buddha-mind itself, transmitted directly from master to disciple.[80] The Ch'an understanding of the term may well have been influenced by the stock formula illustrated above, but Indian Buddhist materials do not equate the acquisition of the dharma-eye with full Buddhahood. On the contrary, it is considered merely the third in a list of five "faculties of vision" associated with ascending levels of spiritual insight. The "five eye-faculties" are mentioned, thought not explicitly enumerated, in the Vimalakîrti, a text clearly known to the author of the PTL.[81] A full enumeration is found, however, in the Wu-liang-shou ching 無量壽經:

> The corporeal eye is clear and discerning, and discriminates everything without exception; the divine-eye penetrates to that which is immeasurable and boundless; the dharma-eye fully discerns all paths; the wisdom-eye sees the truth and leads to the other shore; and the Buddha-eye is fully awakened to the dharma-nature. 肉眼淸徹靡不分了 天眼通達無量無限 法眼觀察究竟諸道 慧眼見眞能度彼岸 佛眼具足覺了法性. (T.370: 12.274a4-6)

It is clear from a passage in chapter 3 of the PTL that the author of the text was familiar with some version of the rhetoric of "multiple eye faculties:"

> Thus the principle of the True One transcends both seeing and not seeing. It surpasses the realm of measurement, and is beyond the ranks of commoner and sage. Therefore one may see with clear comprehension free of vacuous delusion. As it is not a dharma of form, it cannot be seen with the corporeal eye 肉眼. As it is not

> a realized dharma it cannot be seen with the dharma-eye 法眼. Only with the clarity of the Buddha-eye 佛眼 -- neither seeing nor not seeing -- is it seen with clear comprehension. (149c11-15)

This passage from the PTL clearly subordinates the dharma-eye, which is incapable of seeing the True One, to the supreme "Buddha-eye," which neither sees nor does not see.

◇ *The wondrous principle is difficult to reveal* 妙理難顯也: The term "wondrous principle" (miao-li 妙理) is common in early Ch'an literature such as the Tsu-t'ang chi 祖堂集.[82] There seems to be little technical difference, however, between this term and the dozens of others used for the absolute, such as "holy principle" (sheng-li 聖理), "supreme principle" (chih li 至理), "apex of reality" (shih-chi 實際), "apex of truth" (chen-chi 眞際), and so on. Typical in this regard is the following passage from the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi 楞伽師資記: "The tracks of the Ch'an master are far from the dust of the world. His spirit roams outside of things, and he is in accord with the wondrous principle which is devoid of attributes 禪師迹遠俗塵 神遊物外 契無相之妙理" (Yanagida 1971: 302).

This ends the long section of the PTL quoted in the Tsung-ching lu (147a20-147b20).

Text 147b20

> *Transcendence is devoid of a body, and subtlety is devoid of mind. Being devoid of a body it is therefore the great body. Being devoid of mind it is therefore great mind. Being great mind it encompasses the myriad things. Being the great body its capacity to respond is inexhaustible. Therefore to cling to the body as body is to lose [the power of its] great response. To cling to the mind as mind is to lose [the power of] its great wisdom. Therefore of the thousand scriptures and the ten thousand treatises there are none which do not expound on the transcendence*

of body and mind in order to eliminate grasping and attachment such that one may enter into true reality. It is like a blacksmith who smelts ore, extracts the metal, and forms functional vessels. If one clings to the body one will suffer the obstructions of the body, and due to the obstructions of the body the dharma-body remains concealed within the shell of form. If one clings to the mind one will suffer the obstructions of mind, and due to the obstructions of mind true wisdom remains concealed within discursive thought. Therefore the Great Way fails to penetrate and the wondrous principle lies deeply concealed. There is confusion among the six interior divinities, the effects of which are felt in the six sense spheres. Day and night hasten by in agitation with no respite.

Commentary:

◇ *Blacksmith* (chin-shih 金師): This term occurs again below in conjunction with the term ta-yeh 大冶 or "great smith" (147c4-5), a term with antecedents in the Chuang-tzu. It will be taken up in the commentary below.

◇ *Shell of form* (hsing kou 形殼): I have not found this compound elsewhere, although it is stylistically related to such expressions as kou-chü-che 殼居者 (144b18) and hsing-shan 形山 (145b23-24) seen above. The lines "The dharma-body remains concealed within the shell of form; true wisdom remains concealed within discursive deliberation" are quoted in Tsung-mi's Ta-fang-kuang yüan-chüeh hsiu-to-lo liao-i-ching lüeh-shu chu 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏註, T.1795: 39.533b18-19, as well as his Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu 圓覺經大疏, ZZ.14.133b3-4.

◇ *Six divinities* (liu shen 六神): Chinese sources contain numerous versions of the "six divinities," beginning with a Chou dynasty list of the six war gods (MH 2.64). There are also the six spirits associated with the "six venerables" liu tsung 六宗, namely (1) the four seasons,

(2) heat and cold, (3) the sun, (4) the moon, (5) the stars, (6) flood and drought. But in the present context the reference is no doubt to the six divinities of the body (liu shen chih shen 六身之神) which are the gods dwelling within the heart (hsin 心), lungs (fei 肺), liver (kan 肝), kidney (sheng 腎), spleen (p'i 脾), and gall (tan 膽). These six divinities play an important role in Taoist "inner alchemy," and are mentioned repeatedly in the Huang-t'ing nei-ching ching 黃庭內景經, a text associated with Mao-shan Taoism (Schipper 1975: 內27:5; 28:6註; and 28:7註). But they also are found in Buddhist works such as the Mo-ho chih-kuan 摩訶止觀, where they figure in discussions concerning the various diseases of the body and the appropriate remedies (T.1911: 46.106c19-23 and 109b8). There is thus little reason to impute a particularly "alchemical" significance to the six divinities -- they were most likely an aspect of the general Chinese understanding of human physiology in the medieval period.

Text 147b29

In not discerning this mind one will not see subtlety. In not discerning this body one will not see transcendence. If neither transcendence nor subtlety are seen, then the essentials of the Way are lost. Therefore when the scripture says: "The Buddha explained that the non-body is called the great body," the point is precisely this. This is called "refuting the expedient and returning to reality, destroying the false and returning to truth." It is like a blacksmith forging metal into vessels. The [individual] characteristics [of the ore] are destroyed as all is blended and fused by the power of the great smith. The "great smith" is the Great Way. The forge of the Great Way creates transformations without end, and issues forth a myriad essential principles 宗. Yet, whether [the transformations and principles] have come into being or have passed away, in essence there is no increase or decrease. Therefore the scripture says: "Whether the Buddha exists or not, the attributes of nature abide eternally."

There is talk of "mingling attributes" only for the sake of the fools who cling to affirming attributes and dread their negation. There is talk of "attributes" in order to refute those heretics who cling to the negation of attributes and dread their affirmation. There is talk of the "middle-way" out of a desire to show the non-duality of either the affirmation or negation of attributes. [Therefore] all such [talk is merely intended to] overcome grasping and eliminate doubt, but such talk does not exhaust the principle. Yet should there be someone who clearly comprehends that attributes are devoid of dharmas, equal and non-dual, and who is thus free of both grasping and rejecting, and free of "this" and "that" and anything in between, then [for such a person] the unerring sages speak of principle naturally permeating [everywhere].

Commentary:

◇ *Therefore when the scripture says: "The Buddha explained that the non-body is called the great body," the point is precisely this* 故經云佛說非身是名大身 亦復如是: This is from the Kumârajîva translation of the Vajracchedikâ (Chin-kang pan-jo po-lo-mi ching 金剛般若波羅蜜經:

> [The Buddha said:] "Subhûti, suppose there was a man with a body like that of Sumeru, the king of mountains. What do you think -- is his body great or not?" Subhûti replied: "It is indeed exceedingly great, World-Honored One. Why so? The Buddha has explained that the non-body is called the great body." (T.235: 8.749c23-25)

◇ *Great smith* (ta-yeh 大冶): In the current context this term might be rendered less personally as the "great forge" from which all things issue forth. However, the term is probably derived from the following passage in chapter 6 of the Chuang-tzu:

> When a skilled smith is casting metal 大冶鑄金, if the metal should leap up and say "I insist upon being made into a Mo-yeh" he would surely regard it as very inauspicious metal indeed. Now, having had the audacity to take on human form once, if I should say "I don't want to be anything but a man! Nothing but a man!"

> the Creator would surely regard me as a most inauspicious sort of person. So now I think of heaven and earth as a great furnace and the Creator as a skilled smith 以造化爲大冶. Where could he send me that would not be right? (17/6/58-60; trans. Watson 1968: 85)

The analogy of the smith forging metal recalls the reference to the golden statue in chapter 1 above (145a24). Shaped into a vessel or statue, the underlying undifferentiated metal may appear to assume particular attributes, but such attributes are ultimately "non-attributes" which vanish as soon as placed back into the smith's great forge. The Tao is both smith and forge -- the shaper of all things, as well as that from which all things emerge and to which all things return.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "Whether the Buddha exists or not, the attributes of nature abide eternally"* 故經云 有佛無佛性相常住: I have not been able to identify this quotation, although it is also quoted in chüan 18 of the Tsu-t'ang chi (5.75.7), in the biography of the monk Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (807-882).[83]

Text 147c13

> *To take an attribute itself as a non-attribute is to say that it is precisely attributes which are free of attributes. Therefore the scripture says: "Form is precisely emptiness. It is not through the annihilation of form that there is emptiness." It is like flowing water; when the wind gusts it stirs up bubbles. But these bubbles are precisely water. It is not through the annihilation of the bubbles that there is water.*
>
> *To take a non-attribute itself as an attribute is to say that it is precisely the absence of attributes which is an attribute. The scripture says: "Emptiness is precisely form. Form is not depleted." It is like breaking down the bubbles into water. The water is precisely the bubbles. It is not that water "transcends"* 離 *the bubbles.*

Those who are fond of the existence of attributes and dread their absence do not understand that those very attributes are non-attributes. Those who are fond of the absence of attributes and dread their existence do not understand that non-attributes are attributes. Therefore, there both are and are not attributes, and everything lies within [these two positions]. He who has awakened to this is called a Buddha -- one in whom delusion does not arise. And when delusion does not arise, there is original true reality.

The attribute of the absence of attributes is called transcendence, because transcendence is essentially the absence of attributes. The non-attribute which is an attribute is called subtlety, because subtlety is essentially not a non-attribute. Therefore, he who treads the Way does not take pleasure in birth, nor does he grieve over death. Why so? He looks upon birth as ephemeral and death as repose. He takes birth as transformation and death as truth. Therefore the scripture says: "Arising is merely the arising of dharmas; cessation is merely the cessation of dharmas. Moreover, these dharmas do not mutually know one another. When they arise they do not say: 'I am arising.' When they cease they do not say: 'I am ceasing.'"

Great wisdom is without knowing; great awakening is without awakening. The principle of the true realm is empty and cannot be named or designated. Therefore nirvāṇa, great cessation, and prajña are without knowing. They are the perfect and complete dharma-body, in which all delimited attributes are quiescent and extinguished.

Commentary:

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "Form is precisely emptiness. It is not through the annihilation of form that there is emptiness"* 故經云 色

即是空非色滅空: This is from the Vimalakîrti (T.475: 14.551a19-20; cf. Lamotte 1976: 195).

◇ *The scripture says: "Emptiness is precisely form. Form is not depleted"* 故經云 空即是色 色無盡也: Kamata, quite reasonably, marks the end of the quotation after the eighth character, which places it in the category of "unidentified" quotations. The first four characters, however, are well known from the text of the Heart Sûtra translated by Hsüan-tsang on July 8, 649 (T.251: 8.848c8), which differs substantially from the earlier translation by Kumârajîva (cf. T.250: 8.847c12). Hsüan-tsang's version of this short text, unlike many of his other "scholastic" translations, enjoyed a wide distribution in the mid-T'ang.[84] It is thus possible that the author of the PTL is here quoting from Hsüan-tsang's work, which should have cast doubt on the attribution to Seng-chao.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "Arising is merely the arising of dharmas; cessation is merely the cessation of dharmas. Moreover, these dharmas do not mutually know one another. When they arise they do not say: 'I am arising.' When they cease they do not say: 'I am ceasing.'"* 故經云 起唯法起滅唯法滅 又此法者各不相知 起時不言我起 滅時不言我滅: This is from the Vimalakîrti (T.475: 14.545a; cf. Lamotte 1976: 122).

◇ *Great wisdom is without knowing* 大智無知: The Chinese Buddhist usage of the term wu-chih 無知 has its roots in Indian Mahâyâna (used to translate ajñâna, ajña, etc.), and it is found in a variety of scriptures including all three translations of the Laṅkâvatâra (Nakamura 1981: 1340c). The usage at hand, however, is clearly derived from Seng-chao's treatise Pan-jo wu chih 般若無知 ("Prajñâ is Without Knowing"), the third essay of the Chao-lun. In fact, the phrase "without knowing" (wu-chih 無知) is found throughout the four essays of the Chao-lun (T.1858: 45.150c1; 153b4; 154b11; 158c24; etc.). As we saw in Chapter 3, Seng-chao was a pivotal figure in the Chinese Buddhist evolution of the sage ideal. The mind of the sage, according to the Chinese Buddhist

understanding, is utterly quiescent and empty of discursive activity -- it is "without knowing." The sage acts, but his actions are merely spontaneous and unpremeditated responses to instigating stimuli.

◇ *True realm* (chen-chi 眞際): Nakamura (1981) has the "realm of the true principle," "the realm of ultimate truth," tathatâ, etc. The term is found in Vimalakîrti (T.475: 14.155a), the Chao-lun (T.1858: 45.153a3 but this itself is a quote) and others. Its usage here seems to be drawing on the discussion in the Vimalakîrti. See the discussion of pen-chi in the following chapter.

Notes to Chapter 2 of the Translation and Commentary

1. See for example Ting 1984: 1439d-1440a; Oda 1983: 1791b; Hirata 1969: 95.

2. See for example the entries on li-wei in Nakamura (1981: 1417d) and Komazawa (1985: 1268d), two important modern Japanese Buddhist dictionaries. These dictionaries cite the Mo-chao ming 默照銘 and Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡録, and omit any mention of the PTL.

3. It is perhaps significant in this regard that it has only been possible to identify about one third of the approximately thirty-one quotations found in the PTL. I suspect, however, that the majority of the remaining quotes were taken from apocryphal scriptures which no longer survive.

4. T.2016: 48.494b, 915b, 915c.

5. T.1996: 47.698b.

6. T.2001: 48.11b, 26c, 28b, 80a, 87b, 100a-b, 102a, 103c, 106c, 107a, 108c, 109b, 110b, 112a6-7, 112c27, 115c, 116c, 117a, 117c, 119a.

7. T.2004: 48.286b.

8. T.2002a: 48.129a.

9. T.2005: 48.296a13.

10. T.2000: 478.1034b21.

11. Note the following passages in the Chao-lun: "If you grasp the meaning which is fine and subtle, then although [the four seasons and the Great Bear may seem to] speed by, they do not in fact go round 得意毫微雖速而不轉" (T.1858: 45.151c18); "Affirmation and negation both share the same breath. The hidden, subtle, abstruse and recondite is hardly something that common minds can exhaust 是非一氣 潛微幽隱殆非群情之所盡" (T.1858: 45.152a12).

12. The term t'ung-jen 通人 or "adept" is used for the advocate of the Taoist position.

13. Duke Ho-sheng lived during the reign of Han Wen-Ti, and tradition has it that he wrote a commentary to the Tao-te ching at Wen-ti's request. This commentary is no longer extant.

14. This contains sections from Tao-te ching 14. The glosses, "The evanescent is the essence," and "The rarefied is the spirit," are per-

haps from a commentary, no longer extant, by Duke Ho-sheng.

15. See Nakamura 1981: 1415a-1418a for many more such phrases along with the corresponding Sanskrit.

16. Zeuschner ends by warning against the hasty conclusion that the Southern school *intentionally* misinterpreted the intent of the Northern school's use of *li-nien* (1983: 145-146).

17. It is possible that the second *li* is a dittography, in which case the passage should read: "[Yes,] I have transcended."

18. For textual details on the *Ta-ch'eng wu-sheng fang-pien men* see chapter 2 n.45.

19. In translating the opening lines I have followed the punctuation in the Taishô text (which follows that of the *Shukusatsu daizôkyô* 縮刷大藏經 32.1.2b), although the following alternative reading is also compelling: "Its entering is transcendent and its emergence subtle. The entering of wisdom is transcendent [since] the outer defilements have no support. The emergence of wisdom is subtle [since] the inner mind is devoid of activity."

20. The *Ching-te ch'uan teng lu* reads 機 for 羈 (T.2067: 51.303b21).

21. The *Ching-te ch'uan teng lu* reads 機 for 羈 (T.2067: 51.303b21).

22. The *Ching-te ch'uan teng lu* omits 自 (T.2067: 51.303b21).

23. The *Ching-te ch'uan teng lu* reads 無有故無無 for 無有故無衣 (T.2067: 51.303b21), which maintains the symmetry of the passage: just as there can be no concept of purity without impurity, there can be no concept of non-existence without the concept of existence.

24. *Wu-liang-shou-ching yu-po-t'i-she yüan-sheng-chieh chu* 無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈註, T.1819: 40.838a24-25; cf. translation in Corless 1973: 249.

25. MH 12.93a. See also the same phrase in Li Shu-p'ien 1980: 650a.

26. See, for example, the *Ta-hsiao-p'in tui-pi yao ch'ao-hsu* 大小品對比要抄序, T.2145: 55.55a27.

27. See the discussions in Hurvitz 1968: 247; Zürcher 1972: 126; and Demiéville 1973f: 252.

28. See also the *K'ung-tzu shih-chia* 孔子世家 chapter of the *Shih chi* 史記 (MH 3.450b).

29. T.2003: 48.146b27. See also the recurring phrase: "Great Functioning appears before you; it does not abide in fixed principles 大用現前不

存軌則" (T.2003: 48.142c5 and 148a26).

30. See chapter 3 section J n.64 for textual information.

31. T.475: 14.551c; cf. the translation in Lamotte 1976: 202-203. See also the discussion in Lamotte 1976 n.43; and Nagao 1955.

32. Reading 遍 for 偏 (cf. 145c23).

33. See the introduction to this chapter as well as the note to term "pervasions of deluded thought 妄想習氣" below (147a12).

34. I follow the textual variant ning 凝 rather than ai 疑. Ning means to "be still," "stiff" or "frozen as ice," and is frequently used in Ch'an style texts to describe a perfectly still and clear state of mind -- a mind transparent as a still pond or clear ice. The following expression, ch'en mo 沈沒, literally means "to sink," which plays on the hydrous metaphor.

35. Note the use of the term sheng-ch'u 生處 ("realm of rebirth") in the Lotus: "Moreover [he who accepts the Lotus Sûtra] shall thoroughly see and thoroughly know the causes and conditions, the fruits and retributions, of the beings' deeds and places of birth 亦見其中一切衆生及業因緣果報生處悉見悉知" (T.262: 9.47c; trans. Hurvitz 1976: 264).

36. Following the variant 含 for 舍. Cf. the similar phrasing above (146b21): 是以含通大象 包入萬物.

37. The reconstructed medieval (Sui-T'ang) pronunciations for these terms (derived from Tôdô 1978) are here given following the modern Mandarin reading: 離 li^2: lɪe (Tôdô 1978: 1443); 理 li^3: lɪei (ibid. 839); and 密 mi^4: mɪět (ibid. 363).

38. 物 wu^4: mɪuət (ibid. 813); 術 shu^4: dʒɪuět (ibid. 1171).

39. For the use of t'ung 通 as "power" see the comments on wu-t'ung 五通 ("five powers") below (147b29).

40. Tôdô's reconstructions of the medieval pronunciations of both 容 (Mandarin: jung^2 or yung^2) and 用 (yung^4) is: yioŋ (1978: 360 and 853).

41. See Demiéville 1952: 52 n.2; and Suzuki 1934: 274.

42. P.4646 and S.2672. The Pelliot manuscript has been photographically reproduced in Demiéville's major study of the work (1952). See also Gómez 1983.

43. Gómez 1983: 89, translating from the Tibetan. The Chinese equivalents are reconstructed from an examination of Mo-ho-yen's corpus, see ibid. 152 n.43.

44. Tsung-ching lu omits 者 (T.2016: 48.494b10).

45. Tsung-ching lu reads 也 for 之義 (T.2016: 48.494b11).

46. Tsung-ching lu reads 之乘 for 諸乘 (T.2016: 48.494b12).

47. Tsung-ching lu omits 之 (T.2016: 48.494b13).

48. Tsung-ching lu omits 譬 (T.2016: 48.494b14).

49. Tsung-ching lu reads 相 for 象 (T.2016: 48.494b14).

50. Tsung-ching lu omits 作 (T.2016: 48.494b14).

51. Tsung-ching lu omits 亦無 (T.2016: 48.494b15).

52. Tsung-ching lu reads 合 for 含 (T.2016: 48.494b17).

53. Tsung-ching lu reads 合 for 含 (T.2016: 48.494b17).

54. See Buswell 1989: 88 and 112; and Buswell 1985: 498 n.1.

55. Tsung-ching lu reads 五種通 for 五通 (T.2016: 48.494b19).

56. Tsung-ching lu reads 妖通者 for 何謂通者 (T.2016: 48.494b20).

57. Tsung-ching lu reads 木石精化附傍人神聰慧奇異此謂妖通 for 木石之精附傍人身聰慧奇特此爲妖通 (T.2016: 48.494b21).

58. Tsung-ching lu reads 隱變 for 變化 (T.2016: 48.494b23).

59. Tsung-ching lu reads 謂 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b23).

60. Tsung-ching lu reads 謂 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b24).

61. Tsung-ching lu reads 記 for 既 (T.2016: 48.494b25).

62. Tsung-ching lu reads 謂 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b26).

63. Tsung-ching lu reads 像 for 象 (T.2016: 48.494b27).

64. Tsung-ching lu reads 謂 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b27).

65. The traditional five powers are (1) the divine eye, (2) divine ear, (3) knowledge of previous lives, (4) knowledge of others' minds, (5) the ability to do anything and go anywhere at will. The term pañcâabhijñâ is rendered wu-t'ung in a variety of sûtras known to our author, including the Vimalakîrti (see T.475: 14.541c, and passim).

66. Tsung-ching lu reads 謂分別 for 分別 (T.2016: 48.494b28).

67. Tsung-ching lu reads 皆 for 該 (T.2016: 48.494b29).

68. Tsung-ching lu reads 名 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b29).

69. Tsung-ching lu reads 割斷 for 斷割 (T.2016: 48.494c1).

70. Tsung-ching lu reads 無有 for 有無 (T.2016: 48.494c2), which yields: "extinction without residue."

71. Tsung-ching lu reads 名 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494c2).

72. Tsung-ching lu reads 不二 for 無二 (T.2016: 48.494c3).

73. Tsung-ching lu omits 故 (T.2016: 48.494c3).

74. Tsung-ching lu reads 則 for 即 (T.2016: 48.494c4).

75. Tsung-ching lu reads 則 for 即 (T.2016: 48.494c5).

76. Tsung-ching lu reads 本性 for 體性 (T.2016: 48.494c5).

77. Tsung-ching lu reads 智 for 知 (T.2016: 48.494c6).

78. Tsung-ching lu reads 辯了 for 辨也 (T.2016: 48.494c7).

79. One common enumeration is, (1) The knowledge of all things which is possessed by the adherents of small vehicle (一切智), (2) the knowledge of the Way possessed by bodhisattvas (道種智), and (3) the omniscience of the Buddha (一切種智). Another is, (1) the worldly knowledge of non-Buddhists and pṛthag-jana (世間智), (2) the transcendental knowledge of those of the small vehicle (出世間智), and (3) the supreme knowledge of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas (出世間上上智). See MH 1.165d and MZ 2.1613b-1614a.

80. Yanagida's concordance to the Tsu-t'ang chi, for example, lists twenty-eight occurrences of this term (Yanagida ed. 1984: 977).

81. T.475: 14.541c. Clear distinctions among the "five eye-faculties" are found primarily in commentaries and scholastic materials. For a full discussion see MZ 2.1170, and Lamotte 1976: 67 n.57.

82. There are six occurrences in all; see Yanagida ed. 1984: 1.545 for references.

83. Information on this monk can be found in Komazawa 1985: 97a.

84. Lancaster reports that this text is duplicated more than any other in the "canon" carved in stone at Fung-shan, a site seventy-five kilometers south-west of Beijing (Lancaster 1989: 150). Of the sixteen copies of the Hsüan-tsang version of the Heart Sūtra found at Fung-shan, eleven can be dated to the T'ang, and two bear the date 842.

THE TREASURE STORE TREATISE CHAPTER 3:

THE EMPTY MYSTERY OF THE POINT OF GENESIS

Introductory Comments: The Point of Genesis

The third and concluding chapter of the PTL, entitled "The Empty Mystery of the Point of Genesis 本際虛玄," continues to develop the "Ch'annish" concerns of the previous chapter while punctuating the discourse with copious quotes from a variety of scriptures. However, in so far as extensive use is made of images and terminology culled from Taoist literature, the chapter is closer in style to the first. The third chapter concludes with a summation of the entire treatise, which, like the opening of the treatise, is unmistakably "Taoist" in tone:

> We have titled the whole work "The Treasure Store," as it expounds on the treasury of the dense array of meanings, and discourses on the root from which both consciousness and things arise. [It enables one to] clearly comprehend Great Clarity, and mysteriously tally with the wondrous principle 虛洞太清 陰符妙理. One who perfects it is essentially conjoined with the True One. One who understands it secretly awakens to mysterious penetration. Therefore, it illuminates the suchness of the dharma-realm, and reveals the essentials of the Great Way. (150a14-17)

Moreover, shortly before this final passage we are told that the entire text is a mere gloss on the meaning of the "True One" (chen-i 眞一), a term whose intellectual provenance was undeniably linked to Taoist scriptures (see the commentary to 143c8):

> Thus the True One may be designated by a variety of names, but irrespective of the variety, in the end they all mean the same thing. Some speak of "dharma-nature," or "dharma-body," or "true suchness," or "the apex of reality," or "emptiness," or "Buddha-nature," or "nirvāṇa," or "dharma-realm," and so on, including even "point of genesis" and "tathâgatagarbha" -- there are innumerable such names and signs. But they are all different names

> for the True One; they all give rise to a single meaning. And this is indeed also true of the previous three chapters [of this treatise]. (150a3-5)

Other notable features of chapter 3 include the piquant critique of those who claim to attain visions as a result of "contemplating the Buddha" (nien-fo 念佛) or "contemplating the saṃgha" (nien-seng 念僧), and the reference to the doctrine that even insentient objects have Buddha-nature. These issues will be dealt with as they arise in the commentary to the translation below. The remainder of these preliminary remarks will concern the elucidation of the term pen-chi 本際 or "point of genesis," which appears in the title of the chapter and figures prominently throughout.[1]

The term pen-chi is ubiquitous not only in Buddhist scripture, but also in the literature associated with ch'ung-hsüan Taoism. In fact, the meaning of the term pen-chi became a subject of dispute during the Buddhist-Taoist debates of 658. We learn from the Buddhist historian Tao-hsüan 道宣 (by no means an impartial source) that the deft arguments of the Buddhist I-pao 義褒 reduced the Taoist Li Jung 李榮 to an embarrassed silence in the presence of the emperor Kao-tsung 高宗.[2] We shall see that, despite the Taoist "ring" to the compound pen-chi, the weight of textual evidence indicates that the term originated in Buddhist circles, coined as a translation for a related set of Sanskrit technical terms. But the manner in which it came to be used by both Taoists and Buddhists in the T'ang clearly reflects a complex cross fertilization of ideas.

The use of pen-chi in translated materials is almost as old as Chinese Buddhism itself. The term first appears in translations by Chih Lou-chia-ch'an 支婁迦讖 (Sk. Lokakṣema [?]), who worked in Lo-yang from 168 to 186 A.D. Reference to pen-chi is found, for example, in the Wen-shu-shih-li wen p'u-sa shu ching 文殊師利問菩薩署經 (T.458: 14.437a13), as well as in his translation of the Aṣṭasâhasrikâ-prajñâpâramitâ (Tao-hsing pan-jo ching 道行般若經, T.224: 8.448b25-27). The former work no

longer exists in Sanskrit, and thus it is impossible to determine with certainty the Sanskrit or Central Asian term(s) behind *pen-chi*. In the *Tao-hsing*, however, *pen-chi* clearly renders *bhûtakoṭi*, sometimes translated "reality-limit."[3]

The term *bhûtakoṭi* is itself a difficult and polyvalent technical term in Buddhist literature, but its meaning in the *Aṣṭa* is clear: it functions as a synonym for nirvâṇa, specifically "the inferior hînayânistic nirvâṇa of the Arhat as distinct from the full and final nirvâṇa of a Buddha" (Conze 1975: x). In the *Tao-hsing pan-jo ching* the term appears in a passage in which Mâra is pictured trying to deceive the advanced bodhisattva, urging him to realize *bhûtakoṭi* (*pen-chi*), and thus to fall into the way of the *śrâvaka* and attain *srota-âpanna* (an achievement which precludes the future attainment of Buddhahood, T.224: 8.448b25-27). The use of *pen-chi* to render *bhûtakoṭi*, in the sense of "Hînayâna nirvâṇa," is further confirmed when we turn to the *Mo-ho pan-jo ch'ao ching* 摩訶般若鈔經 (T.226), the translation of the *Aṣṭa* attributed to Dharmapriya. This later translation is very close to that by Lokakṣema, which makes it doubly significant that where Dharmapriya uses the term *pen-chi* (T.226: 8.525c8: 便中道爲本際作證得聲聞), Lokakṣema has "the way of the arhat" (T.224: 8.453c8: 便中道得阿羅漢道不復還).[4] Lancaster, who has made an extensive study of the early translations of the *Aṣṭa*, has observed that the term *pen-chi* "has a distinct Taoist flavor of 'original limit'" (1968: 121; 1975: 38). Yet there is no evidence that the term was actually borrowed from a Taoist work, and in fact it does not begin to appear in Taoist literature until several centuries after these early Buddhist translations.

The term *pen-chi* is also found in the Dharmarakṣa translation of the *Lotus* (the *Cheng fa-hua ching* 正法華經) completed in 286. Dharmarakṣa's translation differs to such a degree from the surviving Sanskrit manuscripts that it is impossible to determine the Sanskrit behind *pen-chi*. Yet phrases such as "the *pen-chi* known to the *śrâvakas* 聲聞知本際" (T.263: 9.96c11) indicate that the meaning is close to the *bhûtakoṭi* of

the Aṣṭa. Somewhat more enigmatic is the appearance of pen-chi in the Fang-kuang pan-jo ching 放光般若經 (the translation of the Pañcaviṃśati-sâhasrikâprajñâpâramitâsûtra), completed in 291 by Wu-lo-ch'a 無羅叉 (Moksala [?]) (Kamata 1968a: 126). Here the term appears in the title of chapter 80, Hsin pen-chi pin 信本際品 (T.221: 8.130b20), but, somewhat inexplicably, it is immediately replaced by chen-chi 眞際 in the text of the chapter itself.

The apparently widespread use of the term bhûtakoṭi to refer to an inferior attainment associated with the path of the śrâvaka is eclipsed in the later Mahâyâna. Later scriptures use bhûtakoṭi as a synonym for "absolute truth," or "absolute reality," without any of the earlier negative connotations. This later Mahâyâna reworking of the term is in evidence even in Haribhadra's commentary to the Aṣṭasâhasrikâ, which cites the terms bhûta-kâya, dharmakâya-pariniṣpatti, and dharma-dhâtu as equivalents to bhûtakoṭi (Conze 1967: 308). This is indeed a significant shift in meaning, and it seems that the Chinese were quick to realize the potential confusion in the use of the same term to refer to somewhat incompatible if not opposing religious ideals. For whatever reason, by the fourth and fifth centuries the Chinese largely abandoned the use of pen-chi as a translation for bhûtakoṭi, preferring instead chen-chi 眞際 ("apex of truth"), shih-chi 實際 ("apex of reality"), chen-shih chi 眞實際 ("apex of true reality"), and so on.

But the term pen-chi did not disappear from Chinese Buddhist translations altogether. It continues to be used to render the Sanskrit terms koṭi and pûrva-koṭi in contexts where these terms refer to the very origin of saṃsâra -- the "point of genesis," or the beginning of time itself. In fact, the term pen-chi chi 本際計 ("point of genesis doctrine") was used to denote the heterodox belief that the world was created or produced from a primal ocean, which gave rise to a cosmic egg, which in turn gave rise to the creator god Brahmâ.[5]

This notion of a "beginning of the universe at a point in the distant past" finds expression in a variety of early Indian cosmogonic myths. One of the most popular versions, recorded in, among other places, the Chândogya Upaniṣad, has the world emerging from a cosmic egg (Sk. aṇḍa):

> In the beginning this world was merely non-being. It was existent. It developed. It turned into an egg. It lay for the period of a year. It was split asunder. One of the two eggshell-parts became silver, one gold. That which was of silver is this earth. That which was of gold is the sky. What was the outer membrane is the mountains. What was the inner membrane is cloud and mist. What were the veins are the rivers. What was the fluid within is the ocean. (319.1-4; trans. Radhakrishnan and Moore 1957: 65)

This same myth is found in a variety of Buddhist texts which found their way into China, although the story is inevitably associated with heretical non-Buddhist Indian traditions. A detailed description is found, for example, in the T'i-p'o p'u-sa shih-leng-ch'ieh-ching chung-wai-tao hsiao-ch'eng nieh-p'an lun 提婆菩薩釋楞伽經中外道小乘涅槃論, a text attributed to Āryadeva and translated by Bodhiruci I sometime between 508 and 535. This text gives summaries of twenty heterodox views of nirvâṇa alluded to in the Laṅkâvatâra. The twentieth and last of these views is called "primal birth [from] the aṇḍa [or 'cosmic egg'] 本生安荼," which is described as follows:

> Originally there was no sun or moon, stars or planets, sky or earth, but only a great expanse of water. In time a great aṇḍa appeared, which resembled a round chicken egg of the color of gold. It ripened, and then broke into two halves. The upper half formed the heavens, and the lower half formed the earth. In between these two halves was born the god Brahmâ, who is called the Lord Ancestor of All Beings 名一切衆生祖公. He produced all sentient and insentient things. Both the sentient and insentient things scatter and pass away. That place is called "nirvâṇa." Therefore the heterodox teachers of the Aṇḍa Treatise 外道安荼論師 teach that the great aṇḍa gives rise to Brahmâ, who is eternal. This is called the causal ground of nirvâṇa 涅槃因. (T.1640: 32.158b2-8)

We know that the "cosmic egg" story was known to T'ang Buddhist commentators, as it is mentioned in the writings of the scholiasts

K'uei-chi 窺基 (636-682), Chih-chou 智周 (678-733), and Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (737-838), among others. Chih-chou, in his Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun yen-pi 成唯識論演秘 (a commentary to the Ch'eng-wei-shih lun 成唯識論, T.1585), describes the Indian belief that human society, with all of its caste divisions, emerged out of the body of Brahmâ. The commentary continues: "The 'point of genesis 本際' refers to the primordial birth 本生. The teacher of the Aṇḍa Treatise explains that originally there was no sun or moon, stars or planets, sky or earth, but only fire and water" (T.1833: 43.832b20-21).[6] The text subsequently relates the theory of the creation of the world out of the aṇḍa, reproducing almost exactly the passage found in the Āryadeva text translated above. And the story is repeated with little change in Ch'eng-kuan's commentary to the Avataṃsaka, the Ta-fang-kuang fo hua-yen-ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (T.1736: 36.102b), as well as in K'uei-chi's commentary to the Ch'eng-wei-shih lun, the Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun shu-chi 成唯識論述記 (T.1830: 43.262c5-8).[7] There is little doubt that this genesis myth was well known to Buddhist commentators in the early T'ang, and that it was associated with the term pen-chi.

Indian Buddhist scholastics were virtually unanimous in their rejection of such creation myths. The Buddhist "canonical" position was that the notion of a beginning of time is either simply false or unintelligible. Some texts emphasize that saṃsâra is beginningless -- sentient beings have always been revolving in the rounds of rebirth. Other texts are more ambiguous: they do not rule out the possibility of a beginning to the world, but they insist that the issue cannot be determined by anyone short of a Buddha, and thus to speculate about a "point of genesis" is to perpetrate delusion. According to this venerable Buddhist position, the term pen-chi denotes a hypothetical and ultimately unthinkable abstraction.

This use of pen-chi to denote a theoretical "point of genesis" is found in a variety of early translations of Hînayâna as well as Mahâyâna scriptures. In the Guṇabhadra translation of the Saṃyuktâgama

(completed between 435 and 443) we read: "The wheel of life and death, the flowing of life and death, one does not know its point of genesis 生死輪迴 生死流轉 不知本際."[8] Whether one takes this as meaning "saṃsâra is beginningless, and thus there is no origin to be known," or "the rounds of saṃsâra extend unimaginably into the past, such that the origin is unknowable," is besides the point. The notion of a "beginning of time" is posited in such early Buddhist scriptures only to be immediately negated.

The term pen-chi is manipulated in precisely this manner in a variety of Chinese translations of important Mahâyâna scriptures. The following representative list includes texts which may well have influenced the understanding of pen-chi in the Sui and early T'ang:[9]

1. The Kumârajîva translation of the Mûla-madhyamaka-kârikâs (Chung-lun 中論). The chapter entitled "The Discernment of the Point of Genesis" (Kuan pen-chi p'in 觀本際品) argues that since the concept of a beginning and end to saṃsâra is stated by the Buddha to be ungraspable, and thus empty, saṃsâra itself is empty -- there can be no "middle" to that which has neither beginning nor end.[10]

2. The Dharmakṣema translation of the Suvarṇaprabhâsa-sûtra completed between 414 and 421, in which pen-chi translates pûrva-koṭi.[11]

3. The Guṇabhadra translation of the Âryaśrîmâlâdevîsiṃhanâda-sûtra dating to 436.[12] Here we read: "World-Honored One! Saṃsâra is dependent upon the tathâgatagarbha, and being dependent upon the tathâgatagarbha it is said that the point of genesis cannot be known 世尊 生死者依如來藏 以如來藏故 說本際不可知."

4. The Gunabhadra translation of the Laṅkâvatâra-sûtra, completed in 443. Typical of the many occurrences of pen-chi is the following: "Mahâmati, the point of genesis of samsâra is unknowable 大慧 生死本際不可知."[13] It also found in the Bodhiruci 513 translation of the same.[14] In the above texts pen-chi corresponds to koṭi or pûrva-koṭi.

5. The Ratnamati translation of the Ratnagotravibhâga, completed in 508 or 511.[15] "The beginningless point of genesis of all beings is beyond the grasp of understanding 諸衆生無始本際不可得知" (T.1611: 31.839a21).

6. The Jñânayaśas 闍那耶舍 translation of the Mahâyânâbhisamaya-sûtra(?), completed in A.D. 570.[16] "The unfolding of defilement

has no prior limit -- we do not know its point of genesis 煩惱展轉無有前際不知本際" (T.673: 16.651b15).

The San-lun scholar Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549-623) produced what may be the most comprehensive discussion of the "point of genesis" in any Chinese Buddhist exegetical work. It is found in his Chung-kuan-lun shu 中觀論疏, a commentary to the Chung-lun.[17] As mentioned above, the Chung-lun contains a short chapter entitled "The Discernment of the Point of Genesis," which, in typical Mâdhyamika fashion, demonstrates that the concept of a "point of genesis" is ultimately self-contradictory and hence unintelligible. Chi-tsang's treatment is particularly valuable as it includes mention of native Chinese theories of creation associated with the term pen-chi:

> Question: Does the cycle of saṃsâra have a fixed beginning or not?
>
> Answer: There is a difference between the positions of those within [the fold of the teaching] and those without. Those outside the teaching talk of the autonomous spontaneity of the dark origin which is the foundation of the myriad things and the beginning of all dharmas. This they call the "point of genesis." 外道人謂 冥初自在 爲萬物之本 爲諸法始 稱爲本際. There are also those outside the teaching who, in their exhaustive investigation of all dharmas, [conclude that their temporal] boundaries cannot be grasped 邊不可得, and thus they say that the world is unbounded. This is called "the absence of any point of genesis." Lao-tzu said: "The nameless is the origin of the myriad things; the named is the mother of the myriad things."[18] This is also [to assert] the existence of a beginning.
>
> Those persons within the fold of the teaching who follow the small vehicle only understand that saṃsâra has a final end which lies in nirvâṇa without remainder. They do not speak of a beginning point as the fundamental origin of saṃsâra. This is called "the absence of any point of genesis."
>
> Question: Why do they say this?
>
> Answer: The Buddha explained that the point of genesis and duration of saṃsâra cannot be known in order to instill in those of the small vehicle a profound weariness of birth and [a longing for] release. Therefore he did not elucidate a beginning. In order to cause them to quickly extinguish the defilements and rapidly enter [nirvâṇa] without remainder he taught an end to saṃsâra. Moreover, the Sthavira and Mahâsânghika monks 上座僧祇 likewise do not explain saṃsâra as having a beginning.

Men of the Mahâyâna say that if you discuss the six realms [of rebirth] from a comprehensive perspective, you cannot talk of a beginning or end. We do not know how [the realm of saṃsâra] arose in the first place, nor can we fathom its final extinction. Therefore there is no beginning or end. But if you approach [the subject from the limited perspective of] a single person, then there is a beginning and an end. In the beginning, ignorance initiates mental processes which arise out of emptiness. In the end, with the severing of the five abidings 五住,[19] one attains the dharma-body.

Question: How does one refute this?

Answer: If saṃsâra has a beginning then the world is bounded. If it is without a beginning then it is boundless. But the question as to whether [the world] is bounded or not is one of the fourteen "undecided questions"[20] which, according to both the Mahâyâna and Hînayâna scriptures, the Buddha refused to answer. For this reason one must hold neither to the existence of a beginning, nor to its non-existence . . .

Question: What is the difference between "original abiding 本住" and the "point of genesis?"

Answer: "Original abiding" denotes man, while the "point of genesis" is a term for dharmas. Also, the "locus of the point of genesis" is that locus from which man and dharmas initially arose. (T.1824: 42.100c16-101a22)

Chi-tsang was aware of the different theories surrounding the issue of the "point of genesis." He begins by citing what looks to be a Chinese conception of the universe arising "spontaneously" from a mysterious and obscure point in the past.[21] A few lines later Chi-tsang quotes Lao-tzu, who is similarly associated with those who posit the existence of a "point of genesis." The commentary goes on to deal with the canonical Buddhist teaching that saṃsâra is beginningless, and thus without a "point of genesis." Chi-tsang, following Nâgârjuna, rejects both positions. He insists that the issue is, according to scripture, indeterminable, and thus a "point of genesis" can neither be affirmed as existent nor negated as non-existent.

Yet the position which Chi-tsang associates with Lao-tzu remains popular in Chinese Buddhist writings, particularly in Ch'an circles. We

have already mentioned the tendency for Chinese Buddhist exegetes to ontologize terms which, in an Indian context, would have been handled dialectically. Terms such as k'ung 空 or wu 無, which in San-lun commentaries are used to deny the possibility of predicating anything to absolute reality, are themselves treated as absolutes. Analogously, the notion of a "point of genesis," which is understood in translated Buddhist literature as an abstraction with no existential referent, is ontologized and turned into the mysterious, unmanifest but omnipresent source of all phenomena. Pen-chi is used to denote not so much a moment of creation in the unimaginably distant past, but rather the immanent ground of being from which all existence springs. As such, it became a popular synonym for Truth, ultimate reality, or the Tao, in both Taoist and Buddhist materials.

It is possible that this represents an awareness of, or a confusion caused by, the earlier use of pen-chi to render bhûtakoṭi, coupled with the fact that bhûtakoṭi itself came to be used for "absolute reality." In any case, by the T'ang, the Chinese come to treat pen-chi as more or less equivalent to shih-chi 實際, or ju-lai-tsang 如來藏 (tathâgatagarbha), in the sense of "the inexpressible and ultimately mysterious source of all being," or "that from which all phenomena emerge." This use of pen-chi is well illustrated in the opening passage of the apocryphal Yüan-chüeh ching 圓覺經, a text which exerted tremendous influence on the Buddhism of the mid-T'ang, particularly early Ch'an:

> Thus have I heard. Once the Bhagavan entered into the samâdhi which is the radiant storehouse of spiritual powers in which all Tathâgatas dwell adorned in radiant light. This is the place of pure awakening of all living beings in which body and mind are quiescent -- the point of genesis in which all is equal. 如是我聞 一時婆伽婆 入於神通大光明藏 三昧正受 一切如來 光嚴住持 是諸衆生清淨覺地 身心寂滅 平等本際. (T.842: 17.913a27-29)

Moreover, in section eight of the same text the Buddha addresses Wei-te Bodhisattva in verse: "Wei-te! You should know that the unexcelled mind

of great awakening is the non-dual mark of the point of genesis 威德 汝當知 無上大覺心 本際無二相."[22]

Another T'ang apocryphon, the Chiu-ching ta-pei ching 究竟大悲經 recovered from Tun-huang, uses the expression "point of genesis" in much the same manner.[23] In the beginning of chüan 3, section 9 (the title of this chapter is missing) there is mention of the "ocean[-like] treasure-store of the mind-nature genesis-point 心性本際海藏" out of which gush forth a torrent of innumerable Buddhas, bodhisattvas, sages, immortals, sûtra texts and teachings, wisdoms and spiritual powers, transformations and skills, and so on. In fact, everything, from the very heights of heaven to the bottom of the waters, emerges from the "mind-nature genesis-point" (hsin-hsing pen-chi 心性本際, T.2880: 85.1372b10-1373a12). In this text hsin-hsing pen-chi is essentially synonymous with "the innate nature of mind" (hsin-hsing 心性).

This association of the "point of origin" with the "nature of mind" is found not only in Buddhist texts of the period, but in Taoist texts as well. Although the term pen-chi does not appear in any of the early Taoist classics such as the Chuang-tzu, Lao-tzu, Lieh-tzu, or in hsüan-hsüeh works such as the Shih-shuo hsin-yü, it is found frequently in works associated with the ch'ung-hsüan literary tradition. Most significant perhaps is the use of the term pen-chi in the title of the Pen-chi ching, or "Scripture of the Genesis-Point," a ch'ung-hsüan-related text which was widely distributed in the eighth-century.[24] Wu Chi-yu suggests that the title of this nominally "Taoist" work may well have been borrowed from an earlier Buddhist sûtra, specifically one or both of the following fourth and fifth-century translations: (1) the Pen-chi ching 本際經 found in Saṃghadeva's translation of the Madhyamâgama,[25] and (2) the Wu-shih pen-chi ching 無始本際經 found in Guṇabhadra's translation of the Saṃyuktâgama.[26] But while the title may have been borrowed, the sense of the term pen-chi has been significantly altered. While both these early Buddhist works use pen-chi in the "canonical" sense noted above -- i.e., in discussions of the beginninglessness of

samsâra[27] -- the pen-chi of the Pen-chi ching apparently referred to the "ultimate source of being" mentioned in the Chiu-ching ta-pei ching and the Yüan-chüeh ching.

It is difficult, however, to ascertain the precise sense of the term in the Pen-chi ching, as surviving sections of the text do not discuss pen-chi in any detail. Chapter four of the Pen-chi ching, entitled "The Nature of the Way" (or "Tao-nature," Tao-hsing p'in 道性品), does, however, contain an extended discussion of the term tao-hsing (modeled upon the Buddhist fo-hsing):

> The Tao-nature is in fact the emptiness of true reality which is neither empty nor non-empty, and non-non-empty, not a dharma nor a non-dharma, not a thing nor a non-thing, not a person nor a non-person, not a cause nor a non-cause, not a result nor a non-result, not a beginning nor a non-beginning, not an end nor a non-end, not root nor branch, and yet is the foundation of all dharmas which is not made and not produced. It is called that which is naturally so without activity 名曰无爲自然而然. It cannot be made to be so, nor can it not be so, and therefore it is called natural. Awakening to the true nature 真性 is called awakening to the Tao -- fully and clearly perceiving the unsurpassed Tao. (P.2806: 4.7.163-168)

It would seem that the pen-chi of the Pen-chi ching is in fact synonymous with this "tao-nature" -- it is the "foundation of all dharmas which is not made and not produced." The association of pen-chi with tao-hsing recalls the association of pen-chi and hsin-hsing in the Chiu-ching ta-pei ching cited above. Pen-chi refers to the source of all being, identified as a theoretical point in the distant past which is yet eternally present in all sentient beings as the "Buddha-nature" or the "nature of mind." This, as we shall see, is precisely the sense of the term in the PTL.

By the T'ang, the term pen-chi was widely used by both Buddhists and Taoists, which may explain why the notion of a "point of genesis" became a subject of controversy during the court debate of 658. Li Jung, a major figure in the ch'ung-hsüan tradition, was responsible for

defending the Taoist position in this particular exchange. Li Jung first ascended the high-seat and discoursed on the meaning of the "point of genesis." (Li Jung's exposition, unfortunately, is not recorded.) The emperor then requested the Buddhist scholar I-pao to take the high seat and respond. I-pao begins the debate with a challenge to Li Jung:

> Question: Is it called the "genesis-point" because the Tao originates from this point, or because the point originates from the Tao?
>
> [Li Jung] replies: The two views are complimentary.
>
> Rebuttal: If the Tao originates from this point, then the point is the foundation of the Tao. Yet if the point originates from the Tao, then the Tao is the basis of the point.
>
> Reply: What is the problem with this?
>
> Elucidation: If you suppose that the Tao and the genesis-point mutually interpenetrate each other [and are thus on the same ontological level], then it follows that the self-so and the Tao mutually interpenetrate.
>
> Reply: [But the <u>Tao-te</u> <u>ching</u> says:] "the Tao is modeled on the self-so." The self-so is not modeled on the Tao.[28]
>
> Further elucidation: If you then suppose that the Tao is modeled on the self-so, but the self-so is not modeled on the Tao, then it follows that the Tao originated from the genesis-point, but the genesis-point did not originate from the Tao.
>
> Thereupon Li Jung found himself in difficulty, and fretted over the collapse of his doctrine. He simply remained silent, unable to reply further.
>
> 問云 既義標本際 爲道本於際名爲本際 爲際本[於]道名爲本際 答云 互得進 難云 道本於際 際爲道本 亦可際本於道 道爲際元 答云 何往不通 並曰 若使道將本際互得相通 返亦可自然與道互得相法 答曰 道法自然 自然不法道 又並曰 若使道法於自然 自然不法道 亦可道本於本際 本際不本道 於是道士著難恐墜厥宗 但存緘默不能加報. (<u>Chi</u> <u>ku-chin</u> <u>fo-tao</u> <u>lun-heng</u> 集古今佛道論衡, T.2104: 52.390a1-9)

It is difficult to bring out the nuances of the Chinese in English translation. I-pao's critique relies upon the manipulation of the two terms which constitute the compound <u>pen-chi</u> -- <u>pen</u> 本 meaning "original" or "fundamental," and <u>chi</u> 際 meaning "apex" or "extreme limit." We

might assume that Li Jung originally explained pen-chi in a manner which rendered it synonymous with the Tao, and it is clear that he is reluctant to grant ontological or temporal priority to either term. (To privilege the Tao by asserting that it exists prior to the point of genesis implies that the point of genesis is not in fact the point of genesis, since something precedes it. But to do otherwise is to compromise the supremacy of the Tao.) But while we can follow I-pao's critique of Li Jung, I-pao's own doctrine vis-a-vis pen-chi is not entirely clear. It is possible that he was advocating the "canonical" Buddhist position which denies altogether the intelligibility of a "point of origin," understood as the beginning of saṃsâra.

If I-pao was indeed arguing in favor of the canonical view we must remember that this was but one possible understanding of the term in T'ang Buddhism. In actuality, Buddhists as well as Taoists used the term pen-chi in a positive sense to refer simultaneously to a "primal origin," and an "immanent absolute." This is precisely how the term is used in texts associated with early Ch'an, most notably the PTL.[29] It is thus possible that the extended use of the term pen-chi in the third chapter of the PTL was part of an ongoing exegetical debate in the T'ang concerning the existence and the nature of a "point of genesis."

Translation and Commentary

Text 147c29

Chapter Three: The Empty Mystery of the Point of Genesis

The point of genesis is the unobstructed nirvâṇa-nature of all living beings. How could it be said to exist adventitiously? Thus the deluded mind, along with the various associated perversions, are merely the confusions of a single instant of thought. Moreover, this thought itself arises from the One, and the One

arises from the inconceivable. The inconceivable is devoid of anything which could arise. Therefore the scripture says: "The Tao initially begets One." The One is non-action. "One begets two." Two is the deluded mind which, through knowing the One, divides into two. Two begets the yin and the yang, and the yin and yang agitate what was tranquil. With yang there is clarity and with yin turbidity. Thus the clear breath constitutes the inner void of the mind, and the turbid breath congeals without as form, creating the two dharmas of mind and form. The mind resonates with yang, and yang resonates with movement. Form resonates with yin, and yin resonates with stillness. Since heaven and earth are interconnected, stillness and the Sublime Mother penetrate each other. Thus it is said that all living beings are endowed at birth with the empty breath of yin and yang. Therefore, two is born from One, two begets three, and three begets the myriad dharmas.

Commentary:

The third chapter opens with a simple cosmogonic scheme modeled upon that of the Tao-te ching, which is then developed as the chapter unfolds. According to our text, delusion should not be viewed as emerging from the karma of innumerable past lives, but rather should be understood as arising with each moment of thought. This doctrine is typical of Chinese Mahâyâna exegesis, particularly that of T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an. In fact, it is the foundation of Chinese "sudden enlightenment" soteriology: since defilement and bondage are re-created in each moment of deluded thought, if but for a moment one puts an end to deluded thought, one immediately returns to one's "true nature" -- the "ineffable" source from which all phenomena arise. Thus the PTL states that thought itself arises from the One, and the One arises from the "inconceivable."

◇ *The inconceivable* (pu ssu-i 不思議): This term, a contraction of pu-k'o ssu-i 不可思議, is often used in Chinese translations to render the Sanskrit acintya. According to the logic of our text, the inconceivable is the Tao itself -- it is that which gives rise to all things, but is not itself subject to arising or passing away. The "unknowability" of the Tao is a common theme in hsüan-hsüeh style Taoist writings. In his commentary to chapter 25 of the Tao-te ching, Wang Pi explained "primordial chaos" (hun 混), a synonym of the Tao, as "that which one cannot succeed in understanding 不可得而知."[30] The "unknowability" of the Tao is readily conflated with the Buddhist notion of the inconceivability of ultimate truth, or nirvāṇa, thus facilitating the kind of synthesis seen here.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "The Tao initially begets One." The One is non-action. "One begets two." Two is the deluded mind which, through knowing the One, divides into two. Two begets the yin and the yang, and the yin and yang agitate what was tranquil* 故經云 道始生一 一爲無爲 一生二 二爲妄心 以知一故即分爲二 二生陰陽 陰陽爲動靜也: This is derived from section 42 of the Tao-te ching:

> The way begets one, one begets two, two begets three, and three begets the myriad things. The myriad things carry the yin and embrace the yang. Through the blending of the breath [of the yin and the yang] they are brought into harmony 道生一 一生二 二生三 三生萬物 萬物負陰而抱陽 冲氣以爲和.

This cryptic passage fueled a tremendous variety of interpretative schemes in later Taoist cosmogonic speculation. In a provocative though highly speculative discussion of this passage Girardot comments that,

> mythological images have been reduced to numerical cyphers but, possibly as Levi-Strauss would have it, content has revealed its deep structure of binary opposition and a mythological "logic" of resolution. One and two are resolved by a third term of synthesis that suggests a certain kind of mythological intentionality.[31]

Traditional commentators of the Tao-te ching held that "the 'one' refers to the Tao or the t'ai-shih 太始 (the 'Great Beginning'), the

'two' to the heaven and earth (or yin and yang, wu 無 and yu 有), and the 'three' to the basic triad of heaven, earth, and man" (Girardot 1983: 58), although this constitutes but one of many possible interpretations. The PTL understands the passage in accordance with Buddhist metaphysics, which, like the wheel of dependent-origination, intertwines the genesis of the cosmos with the genesis of consciousness itself -- there is no clear-cut distinction between epistemology and ontology.

According to our text, the Tao, mysterious and unmanifest, gives rise to the One which is non-action. The One becomes the object of knowledge making two, namely, One and the consciousness of One. This stage might be termed "samādhi" -- tranquil absorption of the mind or consciousness into its object. In the next stage the dualism of the One (object) and the knowing of the One (subject) give rise to yin and yang, or phenomena and consciousness, understood as potencies or active forces. Thus the split between the subject and object is the foundation of dualistic, discursive, and, in the Buddhist context, deluded thought, precisely because it facilitates the reification of the self through ascribing agency to consciousness. Autonomous agency is an illusion -- in Buddhist jargon, consciousness and its object are ultimately co-dependent and therefore empty of intrinsic nature. Yang and yin are associated with mind (hsin 心) and form (ssu 色) respectively, the two fundamental categories of dharmas. The homologies of yang and yin, mind and form, and movement and stillness, account for the world as we know it with its infinite diversity, and its unceasing oscillation between activity and inactivity.

◇ *Sublime Mother* (hsüan p'in 玄牝): Reference to the Sublime Mother is found in Tao-te ching 6: "The Valley Spirit never dies; she is called the Sublime Mother. The Gateway to the Sublime Mother is called the Foundation of Heaven and Earth." According to Fukunaga, the Valley Spirit is a female spirit associated with lush valleys, probably derived through the anthropomorphization of the fertility of valleys (Fukunaga 1978a: 1.74). The "Sublime Mother" refers to the miraculous power of

the female to engender and to nourish life, which of course is ultimately the power of the Tao itself.[32] Hence yin, identified with physical form, is of a type with the generative principle of all life, which is calm and unmoving.

Text 148a11

Since there is non-action there is mind, and with mind there is, form. Therefore the scripture says: "As for the various [dharmas] of mind and form, the mind begets a myriad worries, and form gives rise to a myriad tangents. The seeds [which give rise to] the triple realm are all formed through the collocation of these karmic conditions."

The reason for the existence of the triple realm is that the grasping mind is fundamentally ignorant of the True One. This turbid and shameful state gives birth to the breath of delusion, and the transparent clarity of the breath of delusion is the realm of the formless which is called "the mind." Clarity and turbidity manifest as the realm of form which is called "the body." The diffusion of impurity is the realm of desire, which is called "the domain of dust." Therefore the scripture says: "The triple realm is [mere] vacuous delusion lacking reality; it is merely [a product of] the transformations of the single deluded mind."

When the One is born within, there is non-action without. When two is born within, there is activity without. When three is born within, there is the triple-realm without. It is this mutual resonance of inner and outer which gives birth to the many and varied dharmas, as well as to all of the defilements numerous as the sands of the Ganges. If the One were not born there would be no non-action. If someone says: "I have realized non-action," this is no more than vacuous delusion. If the two were not born there would be no activity. If someone says: "I have realized ac-

tivity," this is no more than vacuous delusion. If the three were not born there would be no triple-realm. If someone says: "the triple-realm is stable and enduring," this is no more than vacuous delusion. Therefore the scripture says: "Existence is the fruit of suffering; the absence of existence is nirvâṇa."

Commentary:

This section recapitulates the preceding discussion, further interpreting the quotation from Tao-te ching 42. Non-action is "the One," which gives birth to mind thereby creating two. With the mind arises form, creating three, which in turn gives birth to the myriad things. The unfolding of phenomena from the Tao is understood both temporally and logically.

◇ *Breath of delusion* (wang-ch'i 妄氣): The "realm of non-form" (Sk. arûpya-dhâtu), though highly rarefied, non-material and blissful, is still a realm of transmigration, of karma, and of delusion. Thus it is comprised of the "breath of delusion," an unusual coinage which I am unable to locate in any other source.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "The triple realm is [mere] vacuous delusion lacking reality; it is merely [a product of] the transformations of the single deluded mind* 故經云 三界虛妄不實 唯一妄心變化: Kamata has attempted to trace the quotation, and documents several near misses (1965: 382-384). It resembles a passage found in the Daśabhûmika but does not quite match any of the extant translations.[33] The quotation is even closer to a similar passage in the Laṅkâvatâra, but again there are no exact matches.[34] The quote in the PTL is, however, virtually identical in meaning with the surviving Sanskrit text: sarvaṃ hi mahâmate tribhavam abhûtavikalpaprabhavaṃ.[35] It may then be the case that the PTL is actually quoting another version of the Laṅkâ passage. Kamata also notes that the phrase hsü wang pu shih 虛妄不實 can be found in the third chüan of the Ta-ch'eng i chang 大乘義章 by Hui-yüan

(T.1851: 44.528a), as well as chüan 22 of the Samyuktâgama translated by Gunabhadra (T.99: 2.157a).

Text 148a25

The realization of non-action by all srâvakas still has the residue of existence. All beings up to and including the bodhisattvas of the tenth stage abide at a stage wherein there remains a subtle veil of ignorance. Therefore, by virtue of the One there is non-action, by virtue of two there is activity, and by virtue of three there is the triple realm.

There are two kinds of non-action. The first is the non-action of the realization of extinction. The second is innate and original non-action. The non-action of the realization of extinction is what is called the Way cultivated by all sages -- the essential absolute which cuts through veils. Therefore the scripture says: "The discernment of all worthies and sages is based upon the dharma of non-action."[36] *Innate and original non-action is what is called the primordial state which is neither cultivated nor realized. It cannot be touched by man, nor matched by dharmas. Man and dharmas, being originally empty, are essentially pure absolute truth. Therefore the scripture says: "The principle which is the attribute of reality is neither conditioned-action nor unconditioned-non-action. It is neither this shore nor the other shore, nor is it something flowing in-between." Since it is not conditioned-action, it cannot be cultivated or studied. Since it is not unconditioned-non-action, it cannot be realized through extinction. If it [were something that entailed] either cultivation or realization, then it would not be innate and original non-action. Therefore the scripture says: "Non-arising is the essential principle of all dharmas." Since the essential principle doesn't arise, it is [also] not non-arising. That which is free of both arising and non-arising cannot be realized. Why so? If*

there is realization then there is arising, and if there is no realization then there is no arising. [Ultimately the essential principle] rests in original great obscurity.

Commentary:

◇ *Innate and original non-action* (hsing-pen wu-wei 性本無爲): The compound hsing-pen appears as a translation for the Sanskrit prakṛtyâ eva (Nakamura 1981: 715b), and the terms hsing and pen are found together in the Chao-lun, though they do not function there as a technical compound ("Although the myriad things have their distinguishing characteristics, still their nature is fundamentally and eternally one 萬物雖殊然性本常一," T.1858: 45.156b8-9). The current expression may be another innovation on the part of our text.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "The discernment of all worthies and sages is based upon the dharma of unconditioned-non-action"* 故經云 一切賢聖皆以無爲法 而有差別: I am unable to identify the quotation. The term translated as the "dharma of unconditioned-non-action," wu-wei fa 無爲法, is used to translate the Sanskrit asaṃskṛtadharma, the "unconditioned dharma," usually interpreted in non-scholastic sources as nirvâṇa.[37] The use of the Chinese philosophical term wu-wei for "unconditioned dharma" makes translation difficult, as both the Taoist and Buddhist senses have been retained. I have, accordingly, resorted to the unwieldy constructions "unconditioned-non-action" for wu-wei, and "conditioned-action" for yu-wei, in an attempt to render both the indigenous Chinese and technical Buddhist meanings.

◇ *Man and dharmas, being originally empty, are essentially the pure absolute truth* 人法本空體淨眞諦: The term chen-ti 眞諦 is a common translation for paramârtha-satya, the absolute truth, which is opposed to the conventional or mundane truth (saṃvṛti-satya). This passage presents the classical Buddhist formulation of the "two truths" as two species of non-action: "non-action of the realization of extinction"

corresponds to conventional truth -- the truth taught by the Buddha as a means of attaining liberation. "Innate and original non-action" corresponds to the ultimate truth, which is ineffable, and cannot be made the object of study or cultivation.

◇ *[Ultimately the essential principle] rests in original great obscurity* 依本太冥: The term t'ai-ming 太冥 or "great obscurity" can refer to the "northern direction, which, being the apex of yin is called the great-darkness" (MH 3.544a; PWYF 2.1243). In the present instance the term denotes the ineffable source of all being, mysterious and unknowable.

Text 148b10

That which is not born is precisely the point of genesis. It does not emerge, nor does it sink away. Like empty space, there is nothing with which it can be compared. All conditioned-action dharmas are mere empty delusion and unreal. It is only through the contingencies of mutual-dependence that [things] exist or perish. Pursue it to the source and return directly to the real point of genesis! It is only because all beings have lost the origin that they seek outside of themselves, engaging in futile and profoundly painful practices for kalpas on end without awakening to the truth. Thus [if you] take hold of the origin and seek the branches, the branches [which you seek] are delusory and untrue. [If you] take hold of the branches and seek the origin, the origin [you seek] is vacuous and unreal.

The origin cannot be reached by seeking it out. Why so? Because the origin does not seek out the origin, any more than gold seeks out gold. The branches cannot be reached by cultivation. Why so? Because delusion does not seek out delusion, any more than a clod of earth could be turned into gold.

The dharmas of the body and mind are vacuous, contingent, and unreal. Vulgar people often seek the Way through cultivating the body and the mind, which is no better than seeking [to make] gold out of a clod of earth. If the Way depended upon the body and mind, then why would the sages speak of transcending body and mind? Therefore, know that this is not the Way. Nor can original truth be reached through cultivation. Why so? Because the dharma [of truth] is free of duality.

The sage does not impute existence to birth, nor does he impute non-existence to death. He is free of the deluded mind which grasps or rejects. This is called [meeting with] a myriad births and a myriad deaths while remaining impartial and disinterested. In the midst of that state of natural spontaneity, he does not produce a "self." Yet the depraved thinking of the foolish gives rise to a deluded mind within, which in turn begets all kinds of views. Thus [these views] do not pertain to true reality, and the [the foolish] are incapable of clear understanding.

Thus the point of genesis is the purity of intrinsic-nature; it is subtle, wondrous, profound, and essentially free of defiling dust. Therefore the great variety of words and treatises of the thousand sages and ten-thousand worthies are all [intended to elicit] transformation. To speak of truth is not in itself truth. To speak of transformation is not in itself transformation.

Therefore the point of genesis is devoid of name, and is thus named the "nameless." The point of genesis is devoid of attributes, and is thus named "devoid of attributes." But once names and attributes are established, delusion is sure to follow. The principle of the True One is submerged, and the means to practice the Way are hidden. Therefore the nameless unwrought substance penetrates everything and everywhere. It cannot be designated, and surpassing the realm of measurement it is of a single

essence free of duality. Therefore the scripture says: "The dense phenomenal array and the myriad images are all the imprint of the single dharma." The imprint is that of the point of genesis. Thus the principle of the point of genesis is free of this or that, and is not a unity nor is it differentiated. It embraces and holds to the single breath while fully entering into manifold existence.

Commentary:

◇ *Nor can original truth be reached through cultivation* 若本眞者亦不合修: The term "original truth" (pen-chen 本眞) is uncommon in Chinese works, and does not appear to have any clearly attested technical usage (see Nakamura 1981: 1264b; MH 6.31a).

◇ *The means to practice the Way* (tao tsung shih 道宗事): My translation of this phrase, which must be considered tentative, is based on the use of tsung-shih to refer to "things used by the sages" (Nakamura 1981: 646a). Notice also that tsung-shih appears in classical Chinese works where it refers to the sacred utensils used in the ancestral temple (MH 3.957).

◇ *The nameless unwrought substance* 無名之朴: See the commentary to chapter 1, 144b17.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "The dense phenomenal array and the myriad images are all the imprint of the single dharma"* 故經云森羅及萬象一法之所印: This quote is from the Fa-chü ching (T.2902: 85.1435a23). See the discussion in chapter 1 section B of this study, and the commentary to the translation, chapter 1, 145b28.

◇ *It embraces and holds to the single breath while fully entering into manifold existence* 包含一氣 該入萬有: Reference to the "single breath" is found in chapter 6 of the Chuang-tzu, where Confucius

lavishes praise upon a group of untrammeled sages who gathered for the funeral of Sang-hu: "Even now they have joined with the Creator as men to wander in the single breath of heaven and earth 遊乎天地之一氣" (18/6/68; trans. Watson 1968: 87). In chapter 22 of the same text the Yellow Emperor says: "So it is said, You have only to comprehend the one breath that is the world. The sage never ceases to value oneness 故曰通天下一氣耳 聖人故貴一" (58/22/13; trans. Watson 1968: 236). The expression "single breath," also attested in the Lieh-tzu (Kobayashi 1967: 46), was not so much a technical term used in Taoist cosmological theory as it was a poetic euphemism for the world conceived as a unified and undifferentiated whole. This is the sense in which it is used in the Chao-lun: "[The sage] looks to the single breath while viewing transformation, and thus he flows in accord with whatever comes his way 審一氣以觀化 故所遇而順適 (T.1858: 45.152a8)." A few lines later Seng-chao says: "Things and myself have the same root; affirmation and denial [emerge from the] single breath 物我同根 是非一氣" (T.1858: 45.152a12). Indeed, these lines from the Chao-lun are most likely the inspiration for the above passage in the PTL. Both passages assert that while the sage enters fully into the manifold phenomenal world, he continues to hold to the unity (the "single breath") behind the apparent diversity.

Text 148c4

Should there be someone who, possessing the clear purity of his intrinsic-nature, is born embodying the One, and who is free of deluded thought, [this person] is deemed a sage. Yet at the apex of reality there is no dharma of "sageness." Thus as soon as you admit the slightest spec of dust [such as the concept "sage"] there is differentiation.

Should there be someone who, possessing the clear purity of his intrinsic-nature, is born embodying the One, and who is yet possessed of deluded thought -- his very essence turbid and confused -- [this person] is deemed a commoner. Yet at the apex of

reality there is also no dharma of "commonness." Thus as soon as you admit the slightest spec of dust [such as the concept "commoner"] there is differentiation.

Therefore the scripture says: "The Buddha-nature is everywhere equal and the same, vast and difficult to fathom. There is no duality between commoner and sage; everything is perfect and complete." [This Buddha-nature] completely encompasses the grass and the trees, and fully pervades even the ants. It reaches to even the tiniest mote of dust, and to the very tip of a strand of hair; there is nothing which exists and yet does not embody the One. Therefore the scripture says: "If you are just able to know the One, the myriad worldly matters will be complete." Therefore all beings are born to a single vehicle, which is thus called the "Single Vehicle." With confusion there is differentiation, and with awakening there is unity.

The scripture says: "The preceding instant of thought is the commoner, and the instant of thought which follows is the sage." It also says: "All dharmas are known in a single instant of thought." Therefore one is all and all is one, and thus we say that the "All" forms the myriad images through the activity of the single dharma.

Therefore the scripture says: "If everything exists, then the mind exists, which is to be confused. If nothing exists, then there is no mind, which is to pervade the ten directions." Therefore the True One <u>is</u> the myriad distinctions, and the myriad distinctions <u>are</u> the True One. It is like the sea, which billows into a thousand waves, but those very waves are precisely the sea. Therefore all is one, without differentiation.

Commentary:

◇ *[This Buddha-nature] completely encompasses the grass and the trees, and fully pervades even the ants. It reaches to even the tiniest mote of dust, and to the very tip of a strand of hair; there is nothing which exists and yet does not embody the One* 咸備草木周遍螻蟻 乃至微塵毛髮莫不含一而有: This is a clear reference to the doctrine that even insentient things have Buddha-nature. This theory, known as wu-ch'ing fo-hsing 無情佛性 ("the Buddha-nature of the insentient"), was a source of considerable controversy throughout the medieval period, and the participants in the debate included key figures associated with eighth-century Ch'an. It is therefore not surprising to encounter a reference to this doctrine in the PTL.[38]

Tao-sheng 道生 (d.473) may have been the first in China to advance the theory that all beings, including the icchantikas, possess Buddha-nature.[39] Although originally a subject of considerable dispute, Tao-sheng's thesis found support in the text of the Mahâparinirvâṇa-sûtra, translated in 421 by Dharmakṣema (T'an-wu-ch'an 曇無讖, 385-433).[40] This text served in China as the earliest and most important canonical statement of the universality of Buddha-nature. However, the sûtra unambiguously restricts the possession of Buddha-nature to sentient beings: "'Non-Buddha-nature' refers to insentient things such as walls and fences, tiles and stones. Everything apart from insentient things such as these is called 'Buddha-nature' 非佛性者所謂一切牆壁瓦石無情之物 離如是等無情之物 是名佛性" (Ta-pan-nieh-p'an ching 大般涅槃經, T.374: 12.581a22-23). This was indeed the prevailing view throughout the Northern and Southern Dynasties, a period in which the Nirvâṇa-sûtra played a prominent role in scholastic exegesis, and served as the subject of numerous commentaries (Kamata 1962a: 51; Koseki 1977: 218-221).

For scholars interested in the "Sinification of Buddhism," the theory that even insentient objects possess Buddha-nature holds a particular appeal. This is largely due to the fact that the doctrine ap-

pears to be a wholly Chinese innovation -- there are no obvious antecedents in Indian Mahâyâna. Some have argued that the Chinese belief in the Buddha-nature of insentient things flows out of the classical Chinese "holistic" conception of the cosmos -- a world-view which Needham has called "organismic" (see chapter 3 of this study). Kamata Shigeo sees in particular a fusion of the Chinese view going back to Chuang-tzu that all things are of a "single body," and the Indian notion that there are no dharmas outside of mind (1962a: 54). It is sufficient for our purposes to note that the history of the "holistic" theory of Buddha-nature can be traced through the writings of Chinese Buddhist scholiasts, whose primary concern was the coherent and consistent explication of the Indian materials at their disposal. These scholiasts would have insisted -- the "expedient" proclamations of the Nirvâṇa-sûtra aside -- that Indian Mahâyâna materials clearly imply and/or entail the extension of Buddha-nature to insentient things.

The seeds of the Chinese doctrine can be found in the writings of the Ti-lun 地論 exegete Ching-ying Hui-yüan 淨影慧遠 (523-592). In his Ta-ch'eng i-chang 大乘義章, Hui-yüan speaks of two aspects of Buddha-nature: the "[Buddha] nature which can be known 能知性," and the "[Buddha] nature which is known 所知性" (T.1851: 44.472c). The former is the "mind of true consciousness 眞識心," which is capable of awakening to Buddha-nature through the elimination of ignorance. "This nature is situated in sentient beings, and does not reach to insentient [things] 局在衆生 不通非情" (472c18-19). Thus when the Nirvâṇa-sûtra says that the Buddha-nature is only present in living beings, it is referring to the "nature which can be known." "The 'nature which is known' is like the dharma-nature, the apex of reality, the mark of reality, the dharma-realm, the supreme meaning of the teachings and the sûtras which is emptiness, ultimate truth, and so on 所知性社 謂如法性實際實相法界法經第一義空一實諦等" (472c22-23). Thus, when the scriptures call the highest teaching "Buddha-nature," or when they call the middle-way "Buddha-nature," they are referring to the "nature which is known."

This latter "Buddha-nature" extends to both sentient and insentient things.

Chi-tsang, who was influential in the later T'ien-t'ai development of the doctrine, takes a different approach from that of Hui-yüan. In typical San-lun fashion Chi-tsang argues that, from the perspective of Buddha-nature, there is no distinction between sentient and insentient things (Ta-ch'eng hsüan-lun 大乘玄論, T.1853: 45.40a-41a).[41] He argues that if you want to deny Buddha-nature to something, "then it is not only the grass and trees which are devoid of Buddha-nature, but living beings are also devoid of Buddha-nature. But if you want to explain Buddha-nature as existent, then it is not only living beings which have Buddha-nature, but grass and trees also have Buddha-nature" (T.1853: 45.40b18-20).

The full development of the doctrine that insentient things have Buddha-nature is usually associated with the T'ien-t'ai school, particularly the work of the ninth patriarch Chan-jan 湛然 (711-782). Chan-jan saw himself not as an innovator, but rather as an T'ien-t'ai exegete in the tradition of Chih-i, and finds precedent for the doctrine in the Mo-ho chih-kuan 摩訶止觀. Kuan-ting's 灌頂 (561-632) preface to the Mo-ho chih-kuan contains a paragraph considered by the later tradition to represent the very "core" both of Chih-i's voluminous work, and of T'ien-t'ai doctrine itself.[42] Speaking of the "perfect and sudden 圓頓" practice Kuan-ting says: "When [the mind] is fixed upon the dharma-realm -- when [each] moment of thought [is one with] the dharma-realm -- then there is not a single form nor a single smell which is not the middle way 繫緣法界 一念法界 一色一香無非中道" (T.1911: 46.1c24-25). Chan-jan explains that this reference to the "single form and the single smell" refers to the universality of Buddha-nature, even among insentient things (Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan hung chüeh 止觀輔行傳弘決, T.1912: 46.151c26-28). Yet even if Chan-jan is correct in his reading of the Mo-ho chih-kuan, it seems that Chih-i and Kuan-ting had little obvious interest in working out the details of such a doctrine. This

was left to Chan-jan, who was the first to articulate in detail the doctrine that "even grass and trees and particles of dust have Buddha-nature." The doctrine is discussed at various points in Chan-jan's corpus, but the single most important source is his short work, the Chin-kang pei 金剛 , which is directed exclusively to the defense and clarification of this highly controversial doctrine.[43] The thrust of Chan-jan's defense is that Mahâyâna thought necessitates the doctrine of the universality of Buddha-nature, and yet will not ultimately brook a distinction between sentient and insentient things:

> The perfected man knows that, from beginning to end, the Principle is non-dual. Since there are no objects outside the mind, who is "sentient," and who is "insentient?" The Lotus assembly includes all without division -- how could one distinguish the four atoms [which constitute] the grass, trees, and earth [from those of other beings]? 圓人始末知理不二 心外無境誰情無情 法華會中一切不隔 草木與地四微何殊 (T.1932: 46.785b8-9)

Statements to the contrary, such as those found in the Nirvâṇa-sûtra, must be understood as pratipakṣa -- they are expedient and contingent devices requiring further elucidation.

This notion of the universality of Buddha-nature was accepted by many monks associated with early Ch'an, which is not surprising considering the close connection believed to exist between the T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an traditions. At the end of the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi 楞伽師資記 record of the "fourth patriarch" Tao-hsin 道信 (580-651), for example, we read: "The Nirvâṇa-sûtra says: 'All beings have Buddha-nature.' If you say that walls and fences, tiles and stones, do not have Buddha-nature, then how could they preach the dharma?"[44] The biography of the fifth patriarch Hung-jen 弘忍 (601-674) in the same text contains a statement to the same effect:

> When you are properly in the temple sitting in meditation, is your body also sitting in meditation under the trees in the mountain forests or not? Are [insentient things such as] earth, wood, tiles, and stones also able to sit in meditation or not? Are earth, wood, tiles, and stones able to see forms and hear sounds, wear a robe and carry a bowl, or not? When the Laṅkâvatâra-sûtra

> speaks of the dharma-body of the realm of objects 境界法身, it [refers to] precisely this. (T.2837: 85.1290a14-18; Yanagida 1971: 287-288)

Both Tao-hsin and Hung-jen allude to the unity of the subjective and objective worlds -- the doctrine that "all is mind" -- which leads them to infer the innate Buddha-nature of all things. A similar position is taken by Shen-hsiu 神秀 (605?-706) who, according to the relatively late Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡録, taught that when sentient beings cultivate awakening, insentient beings also cultivate awakening 即有情修證是非情修證. There is ultimately no distinction between self and other, or consciousness and its objects (T.2016: 48.943a24-28).

The most important Ch'an figure in the Buddha-nature controversy, according to rather late sources, is Nan-yang Hui-chung 南陽慧忠 (d.775). This monk is credited by the later Ch'an tradition with the teaching that insentient things are one with the Buddha-nature and preach the dharma. When a monk asked him how he could hold to such a doctrine, as it clearly violated the teaching of the Nirvâṇa-sûtra, Hui-chung said: "If you hold to the notion that insentient things are devoid of Buddha-nature, then the scriptures should not say that the triple-realm is only mind" (Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄, T.2076: 51.438a16-17). The phrase "insentient things preach the dharma 無情說法" is believed by the later tradition to have originated with Hui-chung (Kamata 1962a: 53).

But at the same time there are a variety of early Ch'an sources which take the alternative view, either explicitly or implicitly denying Buddha-nature to insentient things.[45] One of the strongest statements to this effect is found in the record of Ho-tse Shen-hui 荷澤神會 (684-758):

> Ch'an master Yüan of Ox-Head Mountain 牛頭山袁禪師 asked: [You say that] Buddha-nature permeates all sentient things, and does not permeate all insentient things. I heard the former master Ta-te 大德 say:

"Lush groves of emerald bamboo,
They are wholly the dharma-body.
Luxuriant clusters of yellow blossoms,
Nothing is not prajñâ
青青翠竹 盡是法身 鬱鬱黄花 无非般若."

Now why do you say that [Buddha-nature] only permeates sentient things, and does not permeate insentient things?

[Shen-hui] answered: Surely you do not mean that the merit of the lush groves of emerald bamboo equals that of the dharma-body, or that the wisdom of the luxuriant clusters of yellow blossoms is the same as prajñâ? If the groves of bamboo and the yellow blossoms are equal to the dharma-body and to prajñâ, then in which sûtra does the Tathâgata record a case of emerald bamboo or yellow blossoms attaining bodhi? The notion that emerald bamboo and yellow blossoms are the same as the dharma-body and prajñâ is a heterodox doctrine. Why so? Because the Nirvâṇa-sûtra says: "That which lacks Buddha-nature is deemed an insentient thing." (Hu Shih 1968: 139)

It is significant that it is an Ox-head monk who is questioning Shen-hui about the Buddha-nature of insentient things. It would seem that the "holistic" conception of Buddha-nature was taught by at least some of the teachers associated with the Ox-head tradition, a tradition whose literary productions so resemble the PTL. The exchange also indicates that the issue remained controversial in the mid-eighth century, and the statement in the PTL is precisely the view which Shen-hui rejects as unsanctioned by the Buddha.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the Taoist version of this doctrine -- that all insentient things possess the "nature of the Tao" -- is found in a major scripture associated with the ch'ung-hsüan tradition. In chapter 29 of the Tao-chiao i-shu 道教義樞, entitled "Nature of the Tao" (Tao-hsing 道性), we read: "everything which bears consciousness, down to and including animals, fruit, trees, and stones, possesses the nature of the Tao 一切含識乃至畜生果木石者皆有道性也" (HY.1121, f.762-763: 8.6b).[46] Thus the PTL advocacy of the "holistic" view of Buddha-nature is in keeping with the thesis advanced in the first chapter of this study that the text emerged from an environment in which ch'ung-hsüan, San-lun, and Ox-head ideas were in vogue.

◇ *The scripture says: "The preceding instant of thought is the commoner, and the instant of thought which follows is the sage." It also says: "All dharmas are known in a single instant of thought"* 經云 前念是凡後念是聖 又云 一念知一切法也: The source of the first part of the quotation is unknown, although the second segment may have been taken from the Vimalakîrti: "To know all things in a single instant of thought is the locus of the way (bodhimaṇḍala), since it brings all knowledge to perfection 一念知一切法是道場成就一切智故" (T.475: 14.543a4-5). The context of this sentence from the Vimalakîrti seems to have little relation, however, to the passage at hand.

The terms "preceding instant of thought" (ch'ien-nien 前念) and "following instant of thought" (hou-nien 後念) are found in a variety of Chinese scholastic treatises and commentaries, typically in discussions concerning the nature of the causal connection between one moment (ch'a-na 剎那, Sk. kṣaṇa) and the next.[47] In San-lun and T'ien-t'ai related works, the terms are sometimes used in arguments demonstrating the impossibility of a causal interrelation or continuity between two succeeding moments of thought. Thus, thought itself is declared to be unborn, or unarisen.[48] The passage at hand -- "The preceding instant of thought is the commoner, and the instant of thought which follows is the sage" -- would seem to refer both to the notion that a strict causal connection between two discrete instants in time is logically incoherent, and to the associated doctrine of sudden enlightenment.

◇ *Therefore one is all and all is one, and thus we say that the "All" forms the myriad images through the activity of the single dharma.* 是以一即一切 一切即一 故言一切以一法之功而成萬象. See chapter 1 section G for a discussion of a related passage in the Hsin-hsin ming.

Text 148c18

We speak of the one out of a feeling that it is different from something else. But since this difference is [itself] not dif-

ferent [from difference], one is also not one. That which is neither one nor not one is conventionally called the True One.

The True One is not something which can be explained in words. Therefore the One cannot itself perceive the One. If it could be perceived then there would be two [i.e., a perceiver and the thing perceived], and it would not be called the True One. Nor can one speak of knowing the One. If the One knew the One then it would be two, and it would not be called One. If there were a knowing then there would be a not knowing, and the knowing and not knowing would make two. Therefore Great Knowledge is free of both knowing and not knowing. Shining forth, it is eternal knowing, and this eternal knowing, which is free of knowing, is conventionally called "knowing." It is neither a self, nor a location, nor a mind, nor a will.

The numerous conditioned dharmas constitute the things which can be known. As for the unconditioned dharma, it is like empty space which is unbounded, and free of both knowing and not knowing.

When the sages talk of knowing, they refer to that which can be known because it possesses mind, or is enumerable, or is conditioned, or is a dharma. When they talk of the absence of knowing, they refer to that which cannot be known because it lacks mind, is not enumerable, is not conditioned, and is not a dharma. There is simply no such a thing as a knower knowing the absence of knowing. It is as if a man were to talk of emptiness all day long -- it is only a man talking <u>*about*</u> *emptiness; it is not emptiness itself talking. [The notion that] knowing can know the absence of knowing is no different than this.*

As for the fact that some sages may speak of themselves as "knowing," they are [merely] confronting the confusion [of others] in accordance with the demands of a particular situation [in order

to] dispel illness and eliminate doubt. In reality there is no duality of knowing and non-knowing. The reason [the sages] speak of non-knowing is for the sake of those fools who do not comprehend the True One, and are [thus] attached to a self and to the things which the self, in its delusion, imagines itself capable of knowing. Therefore they speak of non-knowing and non-discrimination. Those fools hear this and take up the study of "non-knowing." They are like simpletons who are incapable of making distinctions. Because of the empty delusion [of these fools], the sages then say that the lucid knowledge and vision of the Tathâgata is not not knowing. The fools hear this and take up the study of knowing. But from knowing comes the obstruction of knowing. This is also called "vacuous knowing," or "deluded knowing." This kind of knowing leads one in circles, and is not the Way. Therefore the scripture says: "If living beings associate with wicked friends, they will [dwell in] wicked knowledge and wicked views for a long time." Why so? All the heretics may have knowledge of the future and knowledge of the past, and between the two they may have knowledge of the body and mind. But the body and mind are impure, and thus they do not escape life and death.

As for those who study non-knowing, they all reject knowing in their study of non-knowing. But this non-knowing is precisely knowing. Thus they are not aware of their own knowing. There are also those who reject non-knowing in their study of knowing. But to know is to be aware and with awareness the mind begets ten-thousand concerns, and ideation gives rise to a hundred thoughts. In the end there is no freedom from suffering. Neither of these views of knowing is able to [lead one] to suffuse the void while remaining in this very body, or to be in silent and harmonious accord with the principle. Accordingly, [those who maintain such views] are not able to enter true reality.

True reality transcends both knowing and non-knowing, and is beyond measure and reckoning. With seeing there is extended space; with hearing there is location; with awareness there is mind; and with knowing there is measure. But none [of these faculties] can clearly apprehend the point of genesis which lacks extension, location, mind or measure, and thus cannot be seen, heard, felt, or known. Therefore the True One is non-dual, yet its manifestations are not all the same.

Commentary:

◇ *To be in silent and harmonious accord with the principle* 如理冥契: The term ming-ch'i 冥契 refers to a "silent or unspoken agreement," or "mind-to-mind understanding" (MH 2.131c), and is found in a number of early Ch'an texts, including the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi (Yanagida 1971: 273), and the Tsu-t'ang chi (2.99.5, 3.48.5, 3.77.9).

Text 149a21

Let us suppose a man contemplates the Buddha and the Buddha appears, or he contemplates the saṃgha and the saṃgha appears. [That appearance is in fact] neither Buddha, nor is it not Buddha, and yet it appears as Buddha. Likewise it is neither the saṃgha, nor is it not the saṃgha, and yet it appears as the saṃgha. Why so? It is because that man, while contemplating, longed for such a vision, and he was therefore unaware that the visions were produced by his own mind. [When] the holy truths arise through conditions, they may, through single-minded concentration, be mistaken for external phenomena, and this gives rise to various distinctions. In reality there is no difference between Buddha and saṃgha. Therefore the scripture says: "When you look upon all the Buddha-realms and the material bodies [of the Buddhas], there is great variety, but there is no difference when it comes to their unobstructed wisdom."

It is like a master magician who, through the power of his magical arts, creates all variety of material images in the midst of the empty sky. His magic deludes people, and they claim that these things really did exist in the sky. The practices of contemplating the Buddha and saṃgha can be compared to this. By the power of the art of contemplation all variety of material forms are created in the midst of empty dharmas, giving rise to deluded views. Therefore the scripture says: "The mind is like a dancer, and thought like a jester. The five consciousnesses, which are their companions, in their delusion discern a chorus."

It is as if a man, who ruled over great domain, were himself to make molds -- some square, some round, some large, and some small -- all to suit his fancy. He then pours molten gold into a mold of himself creating an image. In this manner the gold is cast into an image, but [this image] is in reality only the molten gold, which is neither the image, nor not the image, and yet manifests as an image. The practice of contemplating the Buddha and the saṃgha [can be compared] to this. The one with great knowledge of molten gold is analogous to the Tathāgata. The molds of the dharma-body are analogous to all living beings. In their longing to attain Buddhahood they contemplate the Buddha, and due to the coalescence of causes and conditions the various attributes of the [Buddha's] body arise. But the dharma-body is neither an attribute nor not an attribute. What does it mean to say it is not an attribute? [It means that] it is fundamentally free of fixed attributes. What does it mean to say it is not not an attribute? [It means that] various attributes do arise conditionally. Therefore the dharma-body is neither manifest nor not manifest. It transcends both [intrinsic] nature and the absence of [intrinsic] nature, it is neither existent nor non-existent, and it is free of mind and intention. It cannot be measured against any standard. It is only that the commoner, following the [caprice] of his own mind, gives rise to the thought of seeing the

Buddha. His single-minded concentration is such that he asserts the existence of a Buddha outside his own mind; he does not understand that it is through the coalescence of his own mind that [the Buddha] comes to exist.

Or there may be one who, [having attained] single-minded concentration, claims that outside the mind there is no Buddha, but this is to slander the true dharma. Therefore the scripture says: "The holy realm transcends both non-existence and non-non-existence, and transcends that which cannot be measured." To cling to either existence or non-existence is [to fall into the] two extremes, which is vacuous delusion. Why so? Both views [of existence and non-existence] are born of delusion and contravene the true principle.

Commentary:

◇ *Let us suppose a man contemplates the Buddha and the Buddha appears, or he contemplates the saṃgha and the saṃgha appears* 或復有人念佛佛現 念僧僧現: On the practice of "contemplating the Buddha" (nien-fo 念佛) see the discussion in chapter 2 section G above. Reference to the practice of "contemplating the saṃgha" (nien-seng 念僧, Sk. saṃghânusmṛti) is rarely found in isolation. Instead, it typically appears as one of the contemplations on the "three treasures" (san-pao 三寶), i.e., the Buddha, the dharma and the saṃgha.[49] Somewhat less commonly one finds the "contemplation of the saṃgha" listed as the third item in variant groupings of six, eight, and ten contemplations,[50] and the Divâkara translation of the Lalitavistara places it third on a list of 108 fa-men 法門 or "gates to the dharma."[51] In each instance, the practice entails the recollection or mindfulness of the virtues and meritorious qualities of the community of the Buddha's disciples, and in no case is nien-seng explicitly associated with the intent to conjure a specific "vision." In fact, I am not aware of any precedent for the particular coupling of nien-fo and nien-seng found here in the PTL,

wherein both are associated with the desire for a miraculous manifestation.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "When you look upon all the Buddha-realms and the material bodies [of the Buddhas], there is great variety, but there is no difference when it comes to their unobstructed wisdom"* 故經云 彼見諸佛國土及以色身而有若干 其無礙慧無若干也: This is a somewhat abbreviated quote from the Vimalakîrti:

> Ananda, when you look out at all the Buddha-realms, the realms appear varied, but the sky is devoid of any such variation. In the same way, when you look upon the material bodies of all the Buddhas, there is variety, but their unobstructed wisdom is without variation. 阿難 汝見諸佛國土 地有若干 而虛空無若干也 如是見諸佛色身有若干耳其無礙慧無若干也. (T.475: 14.554a7-9)

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "The mind is like a dancer, and thought like a jester. The five consciousnesses, which are their companions, in their delusion discern a chorus"* 故經云 心如工伎兒 意如和伎者 五識爲伴侶 妄想觀伎衆: This quotation is taken from the T'ang translation of the Laṅkâvatâra (T.672: 16.557a). See chapter 1 section B for a full discussion of the significance of this quotation for the dating of the PTL.

◇ *The one with great knowledge of molten gold is analogous to the Tathâgata. The molds of the dharma-body are analogous to all living beings* 大智融金者 即喩如來 法身模樣者即喩衆生: While the analogy is somewhat strained, the conceptual structure which informs the image is that of Tathâgatagarbha ideology, which holds that all beings partake in the nature of Buddhahood. All living beings are the molds into which the Tathâgata has poured the undifferentiated gold of the dharmakâya. One may seek without for a vision of the Buddha, yet the object of the search is the one who is doing the seeking. This is why the truth can

not be seen, and why it is incorrect to say either that truth can be known, or that truth cannot be known.

Text 149b16

Suppose there were a man completely enclosed within a golden vessel who continually discerns the essence of the gold, but does not notice the various attributes. And should he notice the various attributes, he [perceives them as] undifferentiated gold, since he is not mislead by attributes. This is to have transcended distinctions. To continually discern the essence of the gold is to be free from falsehood. The true man can be likened to such a one -- he continually discerns the True One without noticing the various attributes. And should he notice the various attributes, he [perceives them as] the True One. Far removed from deluded thought and free from perversion, he abides at the apex of true reality, and is called a sage.

Suppose there were another man completely enclosed within a golden vessel who continually discerns the many attributes, but does not notice the essence of the gold. He distinguishes between good and evil, and, giving rise to a variety of views, he loses [sight of the intrinsic] nature of the gold. In time there are quarrels and disputes. The commoner can be likened to such a one -- he continually discerns the attributes of form such as "man" and "woman," "good" and "bad," which give rise to all variety of distinctions. He is confused with regard to [his] original nature, and clings to the attributes of mind. He grasps at that which he loves, and rejects that which he hates, and this gives rise to all variety of perversions. He assumes many different bodies as he drifts through the rounds of birth and death. Deluded thought lies densely arrayed, concealing and enshrouding the True One. Therefore the gentleman who cherishes the Way, and the adept of penetrating insight, possess discerning judgment which is deep and

profound, and they are far removed from the common crowd. They are in harmonious accord with the True One, and mutually resonate with the principle.

Commentary:

One might find the analogy of the man in the golden vessel somewhat disappointing. On the one hand, the text asserts that the distinction between the existence or non-existence of attributes is delusory. But our author immediately proceeds to introduce a new distinction -- that between the gold (or "essence") and the attributes, whether existent or non-existent. Attention to the essence is lauded, while attention to the attributes is a source of perversion and future rebirth. Is this not simply a case of replacing one contingent and ultimately false distinction with another? Or is this a case of dialectical sublation, where the new distinction elevates us to a more comprehensive and inclusive perspective? I can only point out that this sort of impasse typically comes about from the attempt to navigate between San-lun style dialectical negation and the more positive tendencies associated with the doctrine of the Tathâgatagarbha or Buddha-nature. The tendency of a Chinese treatise like the PTL is to prefer analogy and persuasive imagery to a rhetoric which privileges rigorous logical consistency.

Text 149b28

It is difficult to explain the True One. [One may] rely on analogy in order make it known, but ultimately the essential principle of the Way is not something which can be revealed in words.

When the eye gives rise to visual apprehension, this immediately begets the perversion of the eye. When the eye gives rise to an absence of visual apprehension, this immediately begets the perversion of no eye. Both are [forms of] deluded thought. To cling to the existence of an eye is to be confused with respect to the

absence of an eye. Because of the existence of an eye, the view of the wondrous does not penetrate. Therefore the scripture says: "No eye and no form -- this is still to possess an eye of confusion." To give rise to no eye is to lose the true eye. It is like a man blind from birth who is unable to distinguish forms. Therefore the scripture says: "It is like a gentleman whose sense faculties have decayed, and thus is no longer able to benefit from the five desires." It is likewise the case for all of the *__śrâvakas__*. *Only the Tathâgata attains the true divine eye. He continually abides in samâdhi viewing all Buddha-realms free of any dualistic attributes. Therefore he differs from the commoners who view existence. And since he is able to view everything, he differs from the* *__śrâvaka__* *who views non-existence. Those two views [of the commoner and the* *__śrâvaka__*] *entail the deluded perspectives of existence or non-existence. Therefore the True One is essentially neither existent nor non-existent. It is only through the vacuity of deluded thought that existence and non-existence are established.*

Commentary:

◇ *When the eye gives rise to visual apprehension, this immediately begets the perversion of the eye* 眼作眼解即生眼倒: The terms "visual apprehension" (<u>yen-chieh</u> 眼解), and "perversion of the eye" (<u>yen-tao</u> 眼倒) are not, to my knowledge, attested elsewhere.

◇ *View of the wondrous* (<u>miao-chien</u> 妙見): This compound appears in Buddhist materials as a name for the constellation Ursa major, or alternatively, the bodhisattva (Miao-chien p'u-sa 妙見菩薩) who resides there.[52] The immediate context does not warrant reading <u>miao-chien</u> as a proper noun, although a double-entendre is not out of the question.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "It is like a gentleman whose sense faculties have decayed, and thus is no longer able to benefit from the*

five desires" 故經云 譬如根敗之士其於五欲不能復利: This is from the Vimalakîrti, where Mahâkasyapa proclaims:

> Those who labor under the defilements are of a kind with the Tathâgata, while we [śrâvakas] are now no longer able to give rise to a mind set upon supreme awakening. Even those who have committed the five heinous crimes are yet able to give rise to the thought of attaining the Buddha-dharma, yet we are forevermore unable to give rise [to such a thought]. It is like a gentleman whose sense faculties have decayed and thus he is no longer able to benefit from the five desires. Likewise, the śrâvakas who have severed [all bonds] are no longer able to benefit from the Buddha-dharma, and are forever unable to give rise to the desire [to attain it]. (T.475: 14.549b17-22; cf. Lamotte's translation from the Tibetan, 1976: 179-180)

The passage goes on to elevate the common man over the śrâvaka; the latter is no longer subject to the transformative power of either the kleśa or the Buddha-dharma, since they have severed the roots of both. The five desires are those associated with the objects of each of the five senses.

◇ *Only the Tathâgata attains the true divine eye. He continually abides in samâdhi viewing all Buddha-realms free of dualistic attributes* 唯其如來得眞天眼 常在三昧悉見諸佛國土不以二相: These lines are found almost verbatim in chapter 3 of the Vimalakîrti, in a passage in which Aniruddha recalls being reproached by Vimalakîrti for boasting of the powers of his divine eye:

> Vimalakîrti appeared and said: "Yo, Aniruddha, that which is seen by your divine eye -- does it occasion attributes or not? If you suppose that it occasions attributes, then it is the same as the five supernatural powers of the heretics. If it does not occasion attributes, then [this eye] is inactive and incapable of perception. . . [Only] the Buddha, the World Honored One, attains the true divine eye. He continually abides in samâdhi, viewing all Buddha-realms free of dualistic attributes. 唯阿那律 天眼所見爲作相耶無作相耶 假使作相則與外道五通等 若無作相即是無爲不應有見 . . . 有佛世尊得眞天眼 常在三昧悉見諸佛國不以二相. (T.475: 14.541b1-6)

In the Tibetan text of this passage, the central issue is whether or not the divine eye itself is conditioned -- whether or not it pos-

sesses attributes. In either case, Aniruddha finds himself in the midst of a dilemma: if the divine eye is conditioned it must be mundane, and of a kind with the divine eye possessed by accomplished adepts among the "heretics." Yet if it is unconditioned it cannot give rise to vision of any sort (Lamotte 1976: 67-68 and n.60). In Kumârajîva's Chinese text the question concerns that which is seen by the divine eye, rather than the nature of the eye itself. But the grammar in both Kumârajîva's text and the PTL is ambiguous, which may indicate that the Chinese did not clearly distinguish between the divine eye and divine vision.

The "divine eye" (t'ien-yen 天眼, sk. divyacakṣus) occurs in most Buddhist lists of supernormal powers (abhijña). Although it is possessed by the Buddha, it may also be attained by non-Buddhist adepts, resulting in the doctrinal ambiguity exploited by Vimalakîrti (see Lamotte 1976: 67 n.59). Vimalakîrti concludes with the assertion that the true divine eye -- the eye of non-duality -- is the possession of the Buddha alone.

Text 149c10

The sage may [at times] refer to himself as "seeing with clear comprehension," [and at other times] speak of "not seeing." But he only speaks of "seeing" or "not seeing" in order to dispel the illness [of delusion]. Thus the principle of the True One transcends both seeing and not seeing. It surpasses the realm of measurement, and is beyond the ranks of commoner and sage. Therefore one may see with clear comprehension, free of vacuous delusion. As it is not a dharma of form, it cannot be seen with the corporeal eye. As it is not a realized dharma it cannot be seen with the dharma-eye. Only with the clarity of the Buddha-eye -- neither seeing nor not seeing -- is it seen with clear comprehension. It is inconceivable and immeasurable. Neither the commoners, with their crude distinctions, nor those of the two vehicles, with their "mustard-seeds," nor the bodhisattvas with

their refined silken gauze [can take its measure]. Therefore know that Buddha-nature is difficult to perceive. Nevertheless, the scripture says: "Buddha-nature extends everywhere, without inquiring first [whether one is a] commoner or sage." This very body is essentially infused with the True One -- what need is there to seek outside? Deeply ponder this both day and night, and the inner mind will come to realization. Therefore the scripture says: "To discern the real attribute of the body is to discern the Buddha."

This real attribute of the body to be discerned is the One Attribute, and the One Attribute is the attribute of emptiness. As it is empty and devoid of attributes, it is thus neither defiled nor pure, neither commoner nor sage, neither existent nor nonexistent, neither false nor correct. Intrinsic nature is in essence always abiding; neither arising nor passing away, it is the point of genesis. Why is it that the dharma-body of the Tathâgata, including his eyes, ears, nose, and tongue -- all the faculties of his body and mind along with their functions -- is in essence the True One? It is because it can neither be measured nor apportioned, and thus the dharma-body, like space, penetrates everything without obstruction.

Why is it that the eyes, ears, and all of the [other] faculties of the commoner do not penetrate, and accordingly are devoid of their reciprocal functions? It is because the sphere of deluded thought and discrimination enshrouds the faculties. The pure spirit is delimited and apportioned, and cannot penetrate. The principle of the True One is confused and devoid of reciprocal functions. Therefore the scripture says: "The thought and consciousness of the commoner is beguiled and deluded, and fails to penetrate." There is grasping and attachment to the sense faculties and their defiled objects, giving rise to all variety of distinctions. Therefore the sage fully penetrates the True One, without the

sphere of mental delusion enshrouding the faculties or their objects. Therefore he is able to function with [the True One] without any mental reckoning.

Commentary:

◇ *Corporeal eye, dharma-eye, and Buddha-eye* 肉眼，法眼，佛眼： For the distinction between these three faculties see the commentary to chapter 2, 147b18.

◇ *Neither the commoners, with their crude distinctions, nor those of the two vehicles with their "mustard-seeds," nor the bodhisattvas with their refined silken gauze [can take its measure]* 凡夫絶分 二乘芥子 菩薩羅縠： The translation of this terse sentence is little more than educated guesswork. The author appears to refer to three different ways of taking measure of the world, associated with three ascending categories of beings. While the distinctions employed by the commoners remain rather crude, the distinctions wielded by the Hînayâna disciples are finer and infinitely more numerous. This allusion to mustard seeds may refer to the Hînayâna tendency to dissect things into their smallest component parts or dharmas -- the mustard seed is sometimes used in Abhidharma texts as a measure for the very small or the very numerous, and in Mahâyâna materials it similarly represents something very tiny.[53] Finally, the distinctions employed by the bodhisattvas are likened to the finest silken gauze known as <u>lo-hu</u> 羅縠. This material, which is used in the bodhisattvas' robes, is so delicate as to be almost transparent to the eye.[54] Ultimately all distinctions, however fine, must be abandoned.

◇ *Therefore the scripture says: "To discern the real attribute of the body is to discern the Buddha"* 故經云 觀身實相觀佛亦然： This is from the <u>Vimalakîrti</u>:

> At that time the World Honored One asked Vimalakîrti: You desire to see the Tathâgata, but how do you go about discerning the

> Tathâgata? Vimalakîrti replied: In discerning the real attributes of my own body I discern the Buddha. I discern that the Tathâgata does not come from the past, nor does he go to the future, nor does he abide in the present. I do not discern [the Tathâgata] in form, nor in the suchness of form, nor in the nature of form. I do not discern [the Tathâgata] in perceptions, conceptions, impulses or consciousness, nor in the suchness of consciousness, nor the nature of consciousness. He does not arise with the four elements, and he is the same as the empty sky. (T.475: 14.554c28-555a4; cf. Lamotte 1976: 238)

The same quote is found in the Chüeh-kuan lun, also in a section concerning the meaning of nien-fo (Tokiwa and Yanagida 1976: 90, see the discussion in chapter 1 section F). The quote in isolation tends to place the emphasis on contemplation of one's own body, while the full passage in the Vimalakîrti emphasizes the emptiness of the body of the Buddha.

◇ *Pure spirit* (ching-shen 精神): This term is found in a variety of Chinese classical sources, perhaps the earliest extant being the Chuang-tzu:

> Pure Spirit 精神 reaches in the four directions, flows now this way, now that -- there is no place it does not extend to. Above, it brushes Heaven; below, it coils on the earth. It transforms and nurses the ten thousand things, but no one can make out its form. Its name is called One-with-Heaven. The way to purity and whiteness is to guard the spirit 唯神是守, this alone; guard it and never lose it, and you will become one with spirit, one with its pure essence 一之精通, which communicates and mingles with the Heavenly Order. The common saying has it, "The ordinary man prizes gain, the man of integrity prizes name, the worthy man honors ambition, the sage values spiritual essence 聖人貴精."[55]

There is also an interesting reference to the "pure spirit" in the Lieh-tzu, where it understood as the immaterial aspect of man, as opposed to his corporeal body:

> The pure spirit is the share of heaven, while the bones and flesh are the share of earth. The things which belong to heaven are clear and dispersed, while the things which belong to earth are turbid and agglomerated. When pure spirit departs from the [bodily] form, each returns [kuei 歸] to its true [aspect]. Therefore they are called ghosts [kuei 鬼]. The ghost is that

> which returns -- they return to their true home. The Yellow Emperor said: "My pure spirit enters the gate, while my bones and flesh return to their root. What could remain of me? 精神者天之分 骨骸者地之分 屬天清而散 屬地濁而聚 精神離形 各歸其眞 故謂之鬼 鬼歸也 歸其眞宅 黃帝曰 精神入其門 骨骸反其根 我尚何存.[56]

The "pure spirit" is sometimes equated with the "original breath" (yüan-ch'i 元氣), the "seminal breath" (ching-ch'i 精氣), or the mind itself (MH 8.910b; Nakamura 1981: 731b). The PTL seems to use the term in the latter more general sense -- as a prosaic synonym for "mind" or "consciousness."

Text 150a1

> *Why is it called the True One? It is because it is truly devoid of distinctions. Since [the True One] is devoid of distinctions, the myriad things, which come into being holding to the One, are also One. Why so? It is because the very origin [of the myriad things] is One, and thus they are devoid of duality. It is like a sandalwood branch growing from a sandalwood tree -- [the sandalwood tree] will never bring forth a camellia branch. Thus the True One may be designated by a variety of names, but irrespective of the variety, in the end they all mean the same thing. Some speak of "dharma-nature," or "dharma-body," or "true suchness," or "the apex of reality," or "emptiness," or "Buddha-nature," or "nirvâṇa," or "dharma-realm," and so on, including even "point of genesis" and "tathâgatagarbha" -- there are innumerable such names and signs. But they are all different names for the True One; they all give rise to a single meaning. And this is indeed also true of the previous three chapters [of this treatise].*
>
> *Why is [the first chapter] called "The Chapter on Broad Illumination?" It is because the mirror of wisdom is vast and penetrating, and the sun of wisdom is perfectly illuminating. It embraces and holds to the principle of things, and clearly comprehends the myriad numinous spirits. Therefore it is called*

Broad Illumination. Why is [the second chapter] called "The Chapter on Transcendence and Subtlety?" It is because its nature is entirely the true principle -- the ultimate and mysterious source. [As the] apex of reality it is empty and void, [and as] original purity it is untainted. Therefore it is called Transcendence and Subtlety. Why is [the third chapter] called "The Chapter on the Point of Genesis?" It is because it is the wondrous principle of heaven's truth, which is essentially lustrous without cultivation. Its nature originally penetrates the void, holding and accommodating the myriad things. Therefore it is called the Chapter on the Point of Genesis. Therefore, we have brought together the previous three chapters -- they share a single meaning which encompasses everything, and they bring forth inexhaustible functions. We have titled the whole work "The Treasure Store," as it expounds on the treasury of the dense array of meanings, and discourses on the root from which both consciousness and things arise. [It enables one to] clearly comprehend Great Clarity, and mysteriously tally with the wondrous principle. One who perfects it is essentially conjoined with the True One. One who understands it secretly awakens to mysterious penetration. Therefore, it illuminates the suchness of the dharma-realm, and reveals the essentials of the Great Way.

The Treasure Store Treatise (finis)

Commentary:

◇ *It embraces and holds to the principle of things, and clearly comprehends the myriad numinous spirits* 包含物理虛洞萬靈: The language of this final passage of the PTL is dense with double-entendre and multiple allusion, most of it impossible to render into English. The phrase pao-han 包含 ("embraces and holds") is clearly verbal, which demands that the parallel construction hsü-tang 虛洞 also be read as a compound verb ("clearly comprehend"). But hsü-tang could also be read as a modifier-

noun construction, yielding "a spacious cave" which abounds in numinous spirits. The same hsü-tang appears a few lines later: *[It enables one to] clearly comprehend Great Clarity, and mysteriously tally with the wondrous principle* 虛洞太清 陰符妙理. The fact that the previous passage signals hsü-tang as verbal, results in yin-fu being read verbally as well ("mysteriously tally"). Yet in isolation the sentence could be read, somewhat more naturally: "[The PTL] is the empty cave of great clarity, and the wondrous principle of the yin talisman." The yin talisman (yin-fu 陰符) is the name of a famous talisman used to ward off sickness, acclaimed in the influential Taoist text, "The Scripture of the Yin Talisman of the Yellow Emperor" (Huang-ti yin-fu ching 黃帝陰符經).[57] The characterization of the PTL as a mysterious talisman makes explicit that which is already implied in the title of the treatise -- the pao of Pao-tsang lun alludes to mysterious and powerful talismans bestowed by heaven upon the ruling family. In the present case the "talisman" holds the power to reveal nothing less than the Tao itself: one who possesses it is conjoined with the "True One," and awakened to "mysterious penetration," "the suchness of the dharma-realm," and "the essentials of the Great Way."

◇ *Great clarity* 太清: See the commentary to chapter 1, 145c1.

◇ *True One* 眞一: See the commentary to chapter 1, 143c8

◇ *Original purity* 本淨: See the commentary to chapter 1, 145b29.

◇ *Heaven's truth* 天眞: See the commentary to chapter 1, 145b18.

Notes to Chapter 3 of the Translation and Commentary

1. On the term pen-chi in Buddhist and Taoist contexts see especially the discussions in Kamata 1965: 319; Kamata 1968a: 126, 238; Wu Chi-yu 1960: 5-10; Kohn 1989c: 239-240; and Nakamura 1981: 1261.

2. Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng 集古今佛道論衡, T.2104: 52.389c28-390a11. See also Kamata 1968a: 128.

3. See the discussions in Lancaster 1968: 119-126, and 1975: 38-39.

4. Note also the similar use of the term in the Dharmapriya translation at T.226: 8.531a15 and 532a15. For the controversy concerning the date of the Dharmapriya translation see Lancaster 1975: 32. Lancaster implies that that the term pen-chi is not found in the Ta ming-tu ching 大明度經, the translation of the Aṣṭa by Chih Ch'ien 支謙, but this is incorrect (Lancaster 1975: 38). In fact, Chih Ch'ien uses pen-chi for "nirvâṇa" with precisely the same derogatory connotations as the cases noted above (T.225: 8.497a18).

5. See the discussions in Hôbôgirin 1.31a, and MZ 5.4694c-4695a. This doctrine is more commonly known as pen-sheng chi 本生計, the "doctrine of original birth."

6. I have translated the text as it stands (唯有火水), but the character 火 is most likely a mistake for 大.

7. Ch'eng-kuan's version reads as follows:

> The "point of genesis" refers to the beginning of time past, that is to say, the very beginning of the world 本際者即過去之初首 謂計世間最初. There was only great expanse of water. In time there emerged a great aṇḍa. Its shape was that of a chicken egg and its color was that of gold. Later it split into two, and the top half became the sky and the bottom earth. In the middle was born Brahmâ, who was able to create all the animate and inanimate things. Therefore Brahmâ is the cause of the myriad things. (T.1736: 36.102b)

8. Tsa a-han ching 雜阿含經, T.99: 2.41c17-18.

9. This list is derived, in part, from Wu Chi-yu 1960: 5-10.

10. T.1564: 30.16a-b. This corresponds to chapter 11, Pûrvâparakoṭi parîkṣâ, in Chandrakîrti's Prasannapadâ,

11. Chin kuang-ming ching 金光明經, T.663: 16.339c17.

12. Sheng-man shih-tzu-hou i-cheng ta-fang-pien fang-kuang ching 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經, T.353: 12.222b6.

13. Leng-ch'ieh a-pa-to-lo pao ching 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T.670: 16.512a12. See also 512a14, 513a10, and 513b9, in which pen-chi corresponds to pûrva-koṭi.

14. Ju leng-ch'ieh ching 入楞伽經, T.671: 16.559a12, 559a16, 560b22-23, and 561a6 where pen-chi translates pûrva-koṭi. The term also occurs translating koṭi: T.671: 16.559a22.

15. Chiu-ching i-ch'eng pao-hsing lun 究竟一乘寶性論, by Sâramati (Chien-hui 堅慧), T.1611. This attribution to Sâramati is found in the commentary to the Mahâyânadharmadhâtunirviśesaśâstra (?) by Fa-tsang, namely the Ta-ch'eng fa-chieh wu ch'a-pieh lun chu 大乘法界無差別論疏, T.1838: 44.63c. See Takasaki 1966: 9.

16. Ta-ch'eng t'ung-hsing ching 大乘同性經, T.673: 16.

17. The chapter in the Chung-lun is found at T.1564: 30.16a4-b19. For Chi-tsang's commentary see T.1824: 42.100b9-102b4.

18. Tao-te ching 1. The current "vulgate" reads "The nameless is the origin of heaven and earth . . . "

19. The five abidings are (1) abiding in wrong views, (2) abiding in desire in the kamadhâtu, (3) abiding in desire in the rûpadhâtu, (4) abiding in desire in the arûpadhâtu, (5) abiding in ignorance within the triloka or the triple realm. See Nakamura 1981: 367b.

20. Sk. avyâkṛta-vastûni, see the discussion in part 1 of this study, chapter 1 section I.

21. It is not clear if this is supposed to represent an Indian or Chinese theory. Kamata tentatively suggests that the obscure phrase "the autonomous spontaneity of the dark origin 冥初自在" may refer to the deity Ta-tzu-tsai-shen 大自在神 (1968a: 127).

22. T.842: 17.918a12-13. Yanagida, in his edition of the Yüan-chüeh ching, parses the passage differently: "The unexcelled mind of great awakening is in reality devoid of the mark of duality" (Yanagida 1987: 156).

23. Stein mss. 2224 and 2499, of which the first has been edited as T.2880: 85.1368b-1380b. Only the second, third and fourth chüan survive. This text, which seems to have been compiled sometime in the late Sui or early Tang, was originally known as the Wan-wu wu-ch'ien ching 萬物無遷經 (compare with the title of Seng-chao's essay: "Wu pu-ch'ien lun 物不遷論"), and the influence of the Chao-lun is evident throughout. The text also shows considerable Hua-yen and Taoist influence. See Kamata 1964.

24. Textual details may be found in the discussion of the ch'ung-hsüan tradition, chapter 1 section H.

25. Chung a-han ching 中阿含經, translated in 397-398. See T.26: 1.487b3-c23.

26. Tsa a-han ching 雜阿含經, translated in 435-442. See T.99: 2.240b12-243b11.

27. In the first âgama, pen-chi corresponds to the Pâli term koti ("the extreme point"), and in the second pubbâkoti ("the earliest point"). See Wu Chi-yu 1960: 6.

28. Li Jung is quoting from Tao-te ching 25: "Man is modeled on the earth, the earth is modeled upon heaven, heaven is modeled upon the Tao, and the Tao is modeled upon the self-so."

29. Japanese Ch'an scholars typically explain the term pen-chi as equivalent to jissai 実際, jitsuzai 実在, shinnyo 眞如, and so on. See Yanagida 1987: 11; Kamata 1968a: 126; and Komazawa 1985: 1162c.

30. For the essential identity of hun 混 (or hun-tun 混沌) and the Tao in early Chinese thought see Girardot 1983: 50-51.

31. Girardot 1983: 57. Girardot notes that elsewhere in the Tao-te ching the Tao is identified with the One (i.e., sections 10, 14, 22, 39). This fact, along with the presence of the yin-yang terminology (which dates to a period after the original compilation of the Tao-te ching) has given rise to considerable speculation concerning corruptions and possible anachronisms in this passage.

32. For more on images of the "divine female" in ancient Chinese literature see Schafer 1973, esp. 29-38. The Tao-te ching is teeming with female imagery, and Schafer notes the somewhat radical but nonetheless plausible interpretation of the text which makes of the Tao,

> no abstract entity like Spinoza's "God," the ultimate source of real existence, but rather a great mother, an eternal womb from which emerges all of the particular entities that populate this ephemeral world. As the text itself says, "It is the Mother of all under Heaven -- I do not know its Name, but I style it 'Way shower' [tao]'" (Schafer 1973: 33)

33. Cf. the translations of Dharmarakṣa, T.285: 10.476b; Kumârajîva, T.286: 10.514c; Buddhabhadra, T.278: 9.558c; Śikṣânanda, T.279: 10.194a; and Śîladharma, T.287: 10.553a.

34. See the translations by Guṇabhadra, T.670: 16.510a; Bodhiruci, T.671: 16.556a; and Śikṣânanda, T.672: 16.620a.

35. Nanjio edition 118.15; cited in Kamata 1955: 384.

36. The Taishô punctuation is in error (cf. 148a29: 性本無爲, which is repeated here).

37. According to the Sarvâstivâdins, however, there are three such unconditioned dharmas, namely space (âkâśa), intentional cessation (pratisamkhyâ-nirodha), and unintentional cessation (apratisamkhyâ-nirodha).

38. On the Chinese controversy over whether or not insentient things have Buddha-nature see especially Kamata 1962a; Kamata 1965: 434-474; Koseki 1977: 217-231; Koseki 1980; Sakamoto 1959; and Hôbôgirin 186a-187b.

39. On Tao-sheng and the early debates concerning the universality of Buddha-nature see T'ang 1955: 2.601-676; Tokiwa 1973: 178-193; and Liebenthal 1956.

40. Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching 大般涅槃經, T.374: 12. This text in forty fascicles became known as the "Northern Edition." An earlier translation had been made by Fa-hsien 法顯 in 418 (Ta-pan ni-yüan ching 大般泥洹經, T.376: 12), but this short text of six fascicles did not contain the unambiguous proclamation of the universality of Buddha-nature found in the later edition. In 436 a revision of the Dharmakshema translation was made with reference to the earlier work by Fa-hsien, resulting in the thirty-six-fascicle text known as the "Southern Edition" (T.375: 12).

41. On Chi-tsang's theory of Buddha-nature see especially Koseki 1977: 186-268, and Koseki 1980.

42. T.1911: 46.1c23-2a2. See Donner 1976: 68 n.74.

43. T.1932: 46.781a-786b. On the Chin-kang pei see especially Fung 1953: 384-386; Ikeda 1974; Kamata 1965: 466-474; Sakamoto 1959; and the Ph.D. dissertation by Linda Penkower (Columbia University, forthcoming).

44. T.2837: 85.1289b8-9; Yanagida 1971: 264. See also Faure 1984: 2.661 and 722 n.122.

45. Kamata mentions Hui-neng 慧能 in this regard, as well as Huang-po Hsi-yün 黃檗希運 (d.850?), and Ta-chu Hui-kai 大珠慧海 (Kamata 1962a: 52).

46. See the discussion of this text in chapter 1 section J of this study.

47. See, for example, the Ta-ch'eng i chang by Hui-yüan (T.1851: 44.588c6-7 and 606b6), Chi-tsang's Ta-ch'eng hsüan-lun (T.1853: 45.47c11) as well as his Erh-ti i 二諦義 (T.1854: 45.113a17), Fa-tsang's 法藏 Hua-yen-ching ming-fa-p'in nei-li san-pao chang 華嚴經明法品內立三寶章 (T.1874: 45.618b8 ff.), and so on.

48. See, for example, the Mo-ho chih-kuan, T.1911: 46.64b27 ff.

49. This is the case, for example, in the Kuan wu-liang-shou-fo ching 觀無量壽佛經 (T.365: 12.342c4, 9-10), the Kumârajîva translation of the A-mi-t'o ching 阿彌陀經 (T.366: 12.347a16, 23), as well as the Tsu-t'ang chi (1.123.10).

50. On the appearance of nien-seng in lists of the liu-nien 六念, pa-nien 八念, and shih-nien 十念, see MZ 5.5074a, 5.4223b, and 3.2346b respectively. See also Yamada ed. 1984: 78 n.2.

51. See the Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen ching 方廣大莊嚴經, T.187: 3.544b7.

52. See the Ch'i-fo pa-p'u-sa so-shuo ta-t'o-lo-ni shen-chou ching 七佛八菩薩所說大陀羅尼神呪經, T.1332: 21.546c23-24. The name of the translator of this text, which appeared in the Eastern Chin (317-420), is now lost.

53. The Vimalakîrti tells us that a bodhisattva established in inconceivable liberation is able to place the whole of Mount Sumeru into a single mustard seed, without any decrease in the size of the mountain, nor any increase in the size of the mustard seed (T.475: 14.546b24-29; cf. Lamotte 1976: 142-143). Sumeru is clearly an image of something fantastically big, while the mustard seed is an image of something terribly small. The well known image is repeated in innumerable Chinese works, including the Mo-ho chih-kuan (T.1911: 46.51c8-9), and the Tsu-t'ang chi (2.77.4, 4.92.12, 5.25.13-14).

54. See Komazawa 1985: 1260d, and the Yün-men kuang-lu 雲門廣錄, T.1988: 47.545c27.

55. 40/15-18-41/15/3; trans. Watson 1968: 169-170. The term appears a total of eight times in the Chuang-tzu, but it does not appear to have a clearly defined technical meaning.

56. Kobayashi 1967: 33. The translation follows Graham 1990: 23 with some changes.

57. This text and its numerous extant commentaries are found in HY.108-127, f.54-58. See MH 11.849b-c; and Miyakawa 1984.

APPENDIX

SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS IN THE PAO-TSANG LUN

Introduction

There are approximately thirty-one quotations (give or take a couple depending upon how you count them) from various scriptures in the PTL, typically introduced with the phrase: "Therefore the scripture says 故經云." Although the source of any given quotation is never cited, about one third of the total have been identified by Kamata Shigeo (1965: 379-385). Of these, most are drawn from translations of sûtras which enjoyed wide circulation in the Sui and early T'ang. The Kumârajîva translation of the Vimalakîrtinirdeśa-sûtra 維摩詰所說經 (T.475) heads the list -- it is quoted a total of seven times. This is not surprising, as the Vimalakîrti was popular among Southern Chinese literati interested in "Lao-chuang" thought, as well as among Buddhist exegetes associated with the growing Ch'an movement both in the south and in Szechwan.[1] The sûtra was also influential in the writings of ch'ung-hsüan authors, and much of fascicle 9 of the Hai-k'ung ching 海空經, a text associated with ch'ung-hsüan, is in fact taken more or less directly from the Vimalakîrti.[2] Finally, Seng-chao himself was closely associated with this sûtra owing to the widespread influence and popularity of his commentary to the Vimalakîrti (see chapter 1 section B). Given what we can surmise concerning the literary provenance of the PTL, the relatively large number of quotations from the Vimalakîrti is not surprising.

Other quoted scriptures include the Kumârajîva translations of the Saddharmapuṇḍarîka and the Vajracchedikâ, the T'ang translation of the Laṅkâvatâra, the apocryphal Fo-shuo fa-chü ching 佛說法句經, and the

Tao-te ching. I have reproduced below all the quotations in the PTL, both identified and unidentified. Note, however, that in the case of those whose source is unknown, it is often difficult to determine precisely where the quotation ends, and the list below must therefore be used with caution. Following each quotation I have given the source, when known, and list other roughly contemporaneous materials in which the same quotation may be found. More detailed comments may be found in my commentary to the translation.

Quotations from Chapter One

145c10 Therefore the scripture says: "To the extent that one's mind is pure, the Buddha-land is pure" 故經云 隨其心淨 則佛土淨.

Vimalakîrti-sûtra (T.475: 14.338c).

Also found in the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi (T.2837: 85.1283b; Yanagida 1971: 67).

Quotations from Chapter Two

146b3-4 Therefore the scripture says: "Viewing the subtle is called 'Buddha,' and knowing transcendence is called 'dharma'" 故經云 見微名爲佛 知離名爲法.

[Unidentified]

146c11-12 Therefore the scripture says: "Subtlety is wondrous and profound; transcendence is one's own intrinsic-nature" 故經云 微妙甚深離自性也.

[Unidentified]

147a23 Therefore the scripture says: "[The Buddhas] explain the dharma in accordance with what is apropriate. Their purport is difficult to understand" 故經云 隨宜說法 意趣難解.

Saddharmapundarîka (Miao-fa lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華經 chapter 2, T.262: 9.7a; trans. Hurvitz 1976: 29).

Also found in the Chen-yen yao chüeh 眞言要決, a text recovered at Tun-huang showing strong Taoist influence (T.2825: 85.1231b2-3).

147c2-3 Therefore when the scripture says: "The Buddha explained that the non-body corporeal is called the great body," the point is precisely this 故經云 佛說非身是名大身 亦復如是. Vajracchedikâ, (Chin-kang pan-jo po-lo-mi ching 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T.235: 8.749c25).

147c6-7 Therefore the scripture says: "Whether the Buddha exists or not, the attributes of nature abide eternally" 故經云 有佛無佛性相常住.

[Unidentified]

Also found in chüan 18 of the Tsu-t'ang chi (5.75.7), in the biography of the monk Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (807-882).

147c13-14 Therefore the scripture says: "Form is precisely emptiness. It is not through the annihilation of form that there is emptiness" 故經云 色即是空非色滅空.

Vimalakîrti-sûtra (T.475: 14.551a; cf. Lamotte 1976: 195).

147c16 The scripture says: "Emptiness is precisely form. Form is not depleted" 經云 空即是色 色無盡也.

Kamata, quite reasonably, marks the end of the quotation after the eighth character, which places it in the category of "unidentified" quotations. The first four characters, however, are well known from the text of the Heart Sûtra translated by Hsüan-tsang on July 8, 649 (T.251: 8.848c8). (The Hsüan-tsang version differs substantially from the earlier translation by Kumârajîva, cf. T.250: 8.847c12.) This would then constitute the only translation from a Hsüan-tsang production in the PTL (see the discussion in the commentary to the translation).

147c24-26 Therefore the scripture says: "Arising is merely the arising of dharmas; cessation is merely the cessation of dharmas. Moreover, these dharmas do not mutually know one another. When they arise they do not say: 'I am arising.' When they cease they do not say: 'I am ceasing'" 故經云 起唯法起滅唯法滅 又此法者各不相知 起時不言我起 滅時不言我滅.

Vimalakîrti-sûtra (T.475: 14.545a; cf. Lamotte 1976: 122).

Quotations from Chapter Three

148a4-6 Therefore the scripture says: "The Tao initially begets One." The One is non-action. "One begets two." Two is the deluded mind which, through knowing the One, divides into two. Two begets the yin and the yang, and the yin and yang

agitate what was tranquil 故經云 道始生一 一爲無爲 一生二 二爲妄心 以知一故即分爲二 二生陰陽 陰陽爲動靜也.

Derived, perhaps indirectly, from Tao-te ching 42: "The way begets one, one begets two, two begets three, and three begets the myriad things. The myriad things carry the yin and embrace the yang. Through the blending of the breath [of the yin and the yang] they are brought into harmony 道生一 一生二 二生三 三生萬物 萬物負陰而抱陽 沖氣以爲和."

148a12-14 Therefore the scripture says: "As for the various [dharmas] of mind and form, the mind begets a myriad worries, and form gives rise to a myriad tangents. All the seeds of the triple realm are formed through the collocation of these karmic conditions" 故經云 種種心色 是以心生萬慮色起萬端 和合業因遂成三界種子.

[Unidentified]

148a17-18 Therefore the scripture says: "The triple realm is [mere] vacuous delusion lacking reality; it is merely [a product of] the transformations of the single deluded mind" 故經云 三界虛妄不實 唯一妄心變化.

Kamata has attempted to trace this quotation, but reports only limited success. It resembles a passage found in the Daśabhûmika, but none of the extant translations contain the precise wording found in the PTL.[3] A passage in the Laṅkâvatâra is also similar to, but not identical with, the quotation at hand.[4] The PTL quotation is, however, virtually identical in meaning with the surviving Sanskrit text: sarvaṃ hi mahâmate tribhavam abhûtavikalpaprabhavaṃ.[5] Kamata suggests that the PTL may be quoting another version of the Laṅkâ passage, one which is no longer extant. Also note that the phrase hsü wang pu shih 虛忘不實 is found in chüan 3 of the Ta-ch'eng i chang 大乘義章 by Hui-yüan (T.1851: 44.528a), and chüan 22 of the Guṇabhadra translation of the Saṃyuktâgama (T.99: 2.157a).

148a24-25 Therefore the scripture says: "Existence is the fruit of suffering; the absence of existence is nirvâṇa" 故經云 有有即苦果 無有即涅槃.

[Unidentified]

148b1-2 Therefore the scripture says: "The discernment of all worthies and sages is based upon the dharma of unconditioned-non-action" 故經云 一切賢聖皆以無爲法 而有差別.

[Unidentified]

148b4-5 Therefore the scripture says: "The principle which is the attribute of reality is neither conditioned-action nor unconditioned-non-action. It is neither this shore nor the other shore, nor is it something flowing inbetween" 故經云實相之理非有為非無為 不此岸不彼岸 不中流.

[Unidentified]

148b7-8 Therefore the scripture says: "Non-arising is the essential principle of all dharmas" 故經云 一切法以不生為宗.

[Unidentified]

148c1-2 Therefore the scripture says: "The dense phenomenal array and the myriad images are all the imprint of the single dharma" 故經云森羅及萬象一法之所印.

Fo-shuo fa-chü ching 佛說法句經 (T.2902: 85.1435a22-23).

Also found in Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi (Yanagida 1971: 63); the Ma-tsu yü-lu 馬祖語錄 (Iriya 1984: 19); as well as in at least three other early Ch'an documents. Also note Yen-shou's Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡錄, where it appears in the record of Lung-ya Chü-tun 龍牙居遁和尚 (835-923, T.2016: 48.945c). It is also quoted in Fa-tsang's 法藏 Wang-chin huan-yüan kuan 妄盡還源觀 (T.1876: 45; see Yanagida 1971: 67). But the later diffusion of this phrase is probably due in large part to its appearance in the Pi-yen lu (T.2003: 48.168c29 and passim.).

See the discussion in chapter 1 section B of this study, and the commentary to 145b28 in chapter 1 of the translation.

148c8-9 Therefore the scripture says: "The Buddha-nature is everywhere equal and the same, vast and difficult to fathom. Commoner and sage are not dual; everything is perfect and complete" 故經云 佛性平等廣大難量 凡聖不二一切圓滿.

[Unidentified]

148c10-11 Therefore the scripture says: "If you are just able to know the One, the myriad worldly matters will be complete" 故經云了能知一萬事畢.

[Unidentified]

148c13-14 The scripture says: "The preceding instant of thought is the commoner, and the instant of thought which follows is the sage." It also says: "All dharmas are known in a single instant of thought" 經云 前念是凡後念是聖 又云 一念知一切法也.

The source of the first quotation is unknown, though the second short segment may have been taken from the *Vimalakîrti*: "To know all things in a single instant of thought is the locus of the way (*bodhimandala*), since it brings all knowledges to perfection 一念知一切法是道場成就一切智故" (T.475: 14.543a4-5). The immediate context of this sentence in the *Vimalakîrti* seems to have little relation, however, to the passage at hand.

148c15-16 Therefore the scripture says: "If everything exists, then there is mind, which is to be confused. If everything does not exist, then there is no mind, which is to pervade the ten directions" 故經云 一切若有有心即迷 一切若無無心即遍十方.

[Unidentified]

149a10-11 Therefore the scripture says: "If living beings associate with wicked friends, they will [dwell in] wicked knowledge and wicked views for a long time" 故經云 衆生親近惡知識長惡知見.

[Unidentified]

149a25-26 Therefore the scripture says: "When you look upon all the Buddha-realms and the material bodies [of the Buddhas], there is great variety, but there is no difference when it comes to their unobstructed wisdom" 故經云 彼見諸佛國土及以色身而有若干 其無礙慧無若干也.

Abbreviated from the *Vimalakîrti*: "Ānanda, when you look out at all the Buddha-realms, the realms appear varied, but the sky is devoid of any such variation. In the same way, when you look upon the material bodies of all the Buddhas, there is variety, but their unobstructed wisdom is without variation. 阿難 汝見諸佛國土 地有若干 而虛空無若干也 如是見諸佛色身有若干耳其無礙慧無若干也" (T.475: 14.554a7-9; cf. Lamotte 1976: 226-227).

149b1-2 Therefore the scripture says: "The mind is like a dancer, and thought like a jester. The five consciousnesses, which are their companions, in their delusion discern a chorus" 故經云 心如工伎兒 意如和伎者 五識爲伴侶 妄想觀伎衆.

T'ang translation of the *Laṅkâvatâra* (T.672: 16.557a). See chapter 1 section B for a full discussion of the significance of this quotation for the dating of the *PTL*.

149b14-15 Therefore the scripture says: "The holy realm transcends both non-existence and non non-existence, and transcends

that which cannot be measured" 故經云 聖境界離於非有非無非所稱量.

[Unidentified]

149c2-3 Therefore the scripture says: "No eye and no form -- this is still to possess an eye of confusion" 故經云 無眼無色復有迷眼.

[Unidentified]

149c4-5 Therefore the scripture says: "It is like a gentleman whose sense faculties have decayed and thus he is no longer able to benefit from the five desires" 故經云 譬如根敗之士其於五欲不能復利.

Vimalakîrti-sûtra (T.475: 14.549b17-22; cf. Lamotte 1976: 179-180).

149c17 The scripture says: "The Buddha-nature extends everywhere, without inquiring first [whether one is a] commoner or sage" 經云 佛性普遍無問凡聖.

[Unidentified]

149c19 Therefore the scripture says: "To discern the real attribute of the body is to discern the Buddha" 故經云 觀身實相觀佛亦然.

Vimalakîrti-sûtra (T.475: 14.554c28-555a4; cf. Lamotte 1976: 238).

Also found in the Chüeh-kuan lun (Tokiwa and Yanagida 1976: 90; see the discussion in chapter 1 section F).

149c27-28 Therefore the scripture says: "The thought and consciousness of the commoner is beguiled and deluded, and fails to penetrate" 故經云 凡夫想識惑妄不通.

[Unidentified]

Notes to Appendix

1. Scholars believe that the "Ch'an" lineages known as Ching-chung tsung 淨衆宗 and Pao-t'ang tsung 保唐宗 placed particular emphasis on this sûtra (see Kamata 1965: 400 n.16). Note also that Wu-chu 無住 (714-774), an important figure in the Szechwan Ch'an factions, was originally a lay disciple of Ch'en Ch'u-chang 陳楚章 (d.u.) who, according to the Li-tai fa-pao chi, was an incarnation of Vimalakîrti (Yanagida 1976: 239; Broughton 1983: 19-20).

2. HY.9, f.20-22. For more on the Hai-k'ung ching see chapter 1 section H. Kamata discusses in detail the parallels between the Vimalakîrti (both the Kumârajîva and Hsüan-tsang translations) and the Hai-k'ung ching (1968a: 89-100).

3. Cf. the translations of Dharmarakṣa, T.285: 10.476b; Kumârajîva, T.286: 10.514c; Buddhabhadra, T.278: 9.558c; Śikṣânanda, T.279: 10.194a; and Śîladharma, T.287: 10.553a.

4. See the translations by Guṇabhadra, T.670: 16.510a; Bodhiruci, T.671: 16.556a; and Śikṣânanda, T.672: 16.620a.

5. Nanjio edition 118.15; cited in Kamata 1955: 384.

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